Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-87-211
Monday
2 November 1987

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-87-211 *2 November 1987*

CONTENTS

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Conference Ends 1
Ministers Adopt Arms Document 1
Bessmertnykh Briefs Envoys on U.S. Talks 2

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

'Top Priority' Program on U.S.-Soviet Talks *[P. Kuznetsov, R. Bogdanov, and S. Plekhanov]* 3
Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable' *[B. Adrianov, N. Agayants and V. Sobolev]* 5
Gromyko, Demichev Meet 'Peace Wave' Group *[PRAVDA 25 Oct]* 10
Dardykin Writes on United Nations Day *[IZVESTIYA 24 Oct]* 11
Academecians Discuss Restructuring With Media 12
Sakharov's Role Questioned *[A. Kuvshinnikov, A. Cherepanov in IZVESTIYA 30 Oct]* 12
Address Arms Race, SDI 13

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Further on Shevardnadze Visit, Arms Talks 14
Talks With Shultz Begin 14
Foreign Ministry Meeting 14
Delivers Gorbachev Note 14
Summit Scheduled 7 Dec *[PRAVDA 31 Oct]* 14
Reagan Statement on Summit 15
Reagan Visit Announced 15
Shevardnadze News Conference *[PRAVDA 1 Nov]* 15
'Spokesman' Interviewed *[Paris]* 19
Shultz Cited on Results 20
Shultz Remarks Cited 20
Reagan, Shultz Cited *[PRAVDA 1 Nov]* 20
Kulik Commentary 21
Zorin Commentary 22
U.S. Reaction Reported *[PRAVDA 1 Nov]* 22

China

Further Reportage on 13th CPC Congress 23
Agriculture Problems Discussed 23
Session Ends 1 Nov 23
Personnel Changes Announced *[PRAVDA 2 Nov]* 24
Leadership 'Rejuvenated' 24
Election Results Reported 25
Ziyang Voted General Secretary 25
Chinese Trade With Socialist Countries Reviewed 25
Problem of Counterfeit Goods in China Viewed
[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 23 Oct] 26
China's Economic Foundation 'Weak' *[IZVESTIYA 24 Oct]* 26
Soviet-Chinese Friendship Soiree Held *[PRAVDA 31 Oct]* 28

Near East & South Asia

Dangers of U.S. Nuclear Presence in Gulf *[Grigoriyev]* 28
Further on Vorontsov's Gulf Region Tour 29
'Friendly Talks' in Kuwait 29
Presents Gorbachev's Message 29
Meets With 'Arafat 30 Oct 29
Visits, Holds Talks in Tehran *[PRAVDA 2 Nov]* 30
DRA'S Najibullah Stops Over in Volgorad 30
PDPA Approves Two New Ministries Decision 30
Moscow Ceremony Marks Afghan Solidarity Day *[PRAVDA 24 Oct]* 30
Afghan Fighting, PDPA Activities Reported 31
No Change Seen in USSR Near East Policy *[Seyful-Mulyukov]* 31
Damascus Rally Hails Joint Soviet Friendship *[Y. Glukhov in PRAVDA 30 Oct]* 32
Soviet Presidium, Mubarak Exchange Greetings *[IZVESTIYA 25 Oct]* 32
Church Delegation Returns From Israel Visit 33

West Europe

TASS, Nordic News Agencies Sign Agreement 33
Nuclear Accidents Accord Initialed in Oslo *[IZVESTIYA 25 Oct]* 33
Swedish Air Force Chief Visits Moscow *[Stockholm International]* 33
Presence of Soviet Subs Off Sweden Denied *[Oleg Okulovskiy]* 33
Swedes Smuggle 'Zionist' Literature, Detained 34
Soviet Delegation Meets Netherlands Ministers 34
Protocol With Belgium-Luxembourg Union Signed 34
Soviet-French Commission Ends Paris Session 34
Military Inspectors Return From FRG Visit 35
Greek Ambassador's Credentials Received 35

Latin America & Caribbean

Panama, Philippines 'Target' of 'Meddling' 35
Costa Rican President Arias Congratulated *[IZVESTIYA 25 Oct]* 35
Ortega Interviewed Before Departure to Moscow 36
Stops in Cuba, Meets Castro 36
Nicaraguan Troops Kill 'Somozist Mercenaries' 36
Sandinists Issue Appeal on Guatemala Accord 36
CEMA-Nicaragua Cooperation Session Held 37
Economies in 'Serious Crisis' 37
Moscow-Caracas Radio Bridge Organized 37
BRIEFS 38
Protocol Signed With Bolivia 38

GOSR 70TH ANNIVERSARY

TASS Reports on Gorbachev GOSR Speech 39
GOSR Ceremony Held at Kremlin Palace 43
Gromyko Addresses Meeting 43
Press Conference on Nationality 'Mistakes' 44
Further Report 44
More on Press Conference 45
Pugo Speaks Further 47
Leadership Greetings to Veterans 47
Orthodox Church Issues GOSR Message 48
Soviet Delegation Arrives in Canada 49

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Yeltsin Resignation Offer Reported 50
Politburo To 'Examine' 50
Yeltsin 'Still in Charge' *[TANJUG]* 50
Shcherbitskiy Inspects Exhibition in Kiev *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 25 Oct]* 50
More on USSR Supreme Soviet Session 51
Klyuyev's Reply to Deputies *[IZVESTIYA 21 Oct]* 51
Ukraine's Masol Speaks *[IZVESTIYA 22 Oct]* 53
Child Care Leave Allowance Extended *[PRAVDA 22 Oct]* 54
RFSFR Supreme Soviet Session Ends 54
Budget Allows Growth 55
Komsomol's Mironenko Interviewed 55
Dissident Arrives in Vienna on Way to Israel *[AFP]* 56
Murmansk Development Plan Approved 56
Gorbachev's Book Released, Assessed 56
Marxist Institute Head Criticizes Stalin 57
History of Collectivization Examined *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 11 Oct]* 58

Scientific

AIDS Discussed at News Conference 63
Cosmonaut's Activities On 'Mir' Reported 64
Pokhodnya on Post-Chernobyl Plant Mutations *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 23 Oct]* 65
U.S., Soviets Cooperate in Space Photography 65
BRIEFS 65
Seminar of Nuclear Engineers 65
Antarctic Expedition Under Way 66
Television in Kamchatka 66

Military

Yazov, Lizichev Visit Leningrad Regiment *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Oct]* 66
Poor Predraft Training Examined *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA]* 69
Part One *[22 Oct]* 69
Part Two *[23 Oct]* 71
Military Inspectors Return From West Germany 74
BRIEFS 74
New All-Weather Helicopter Tested 74

Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Conference Ends

LD301729 Moscow TASS in English 1709 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Prague October 30 TASS—The Foreign Ministers'Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states whose meeting closed here on Thursday adopted a document "Apropos of Increasing the Efficiency of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament."

The Warsaw Treaty member states, the document points out, attach fundamental importance to achieving the maximum efficiency of the entire existing system of disarmament talks. A special place belongs to the Geneva conference on disarmament.

The states represented at the meeting of the committee suggested concentrating efforts of the conference on disarmament on the following highly important tasks.

Concluding the drafting of a convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons.

Advancing to a comprehensive nuclear weapon test ban.

The Warsaw Treaty member states believe that the Conference on Disarmament has laid down a good groundwork for the practical and purposeful work to prevent the arms race in outer space.

They propose to thoroughly discuss at the third special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament all aspects of the work of the conference on disarmament with the aim of enhancing its efficiency.

The Warsaw Treaty member states come out in favour of outlining ways and means of increasing the real results from the talks at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.

At the same time they find it expedient for all states, not participating in the Conference on Disarmament, to be given an opportunity to make their contribution to its work. In their opinion, the in the future conference could become a permanent universal instrument of talks on disarmament.

Ministers Adopt Arms Document

LD301755 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Prague October 30 TASS—Follows the text of a document adopted by the foreign ministers' committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states at its meeting here on October 28 and 29:

Apropos of Increasing the Efficiency of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament [subhead]

Proceeding from the firm conviction that a lasting peace and reliable security for all can be ensured only by political means, the Warsaw Treaty member states attach fundamental importance to achieving the maximum efficiency of the entire existing system of disarmament talks. The talks on security and disarmament—both bilateral and multilateral—should focus on the issues of bridling the nuclear arms race and bringing about nuclear disarmament. It is essential to activate the efforts of all states towards creating a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

A special place in these efforts belongs to the Geneva conference on disarmament, in which states of all continents and of different socio-economic systems, members of military-political alliances, non-aligned and neutral countries, all nuclear powers and also non-nuclear countries are taking part on an equal footing.

The multilateral forum has proved that given the political will of states, it can act as an organ for concrete, productive talks for working out measures and accords in the field of disarmament. It takes credit for such international legal acts of significance as the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, the treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons on the sea-bed and the ocean floor, the biological weapons convention, and the convention on the prohibition of military use of environmental modification techniques.

At the same time the results of work by the Geneva forum over recent years have been far from fully meeting the demands of the times.

At this juncture in the work of the conference on disarmament the states represented at the meeting suggest concentrating efforts on the following highly important tasks.

Concluding the drafting of a convention on the prohibition and destructio of chemical weapons. The Warsaw Treaty member states regard an early prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons as one of the principal objectives of their foreign policy. In this connection they call attention again to their Moscow statement of March 1987 and other important initiatives. work on the convention is at the final stage. There is every possibility to carry it through to a successful outcome as early as in the near future. The states representated at the meeting are prepared to cooperate constructively with their partners at the talks also in the future in the name of overcoming the remaining obstacles, so as to embark on a complete elimination of chemical weapons and of the industrial basis for their production everywhere as early as in the near future.

Advancing to a comprehensive nuclear weapon test ban. The Warsaw Treaty member states view the termination and general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon testing as a priority on the path of curbing the nuclear arms race and as a step that can dependably plug the channels for upgrading nuclear weapons. In this context they call attention to the document "key provisions of a treaty on a general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon testing" tabled at the conference on disarmament in June 1987 and suggest forming a special group of scientific experts for

an early preparation of practical proposals for a system to verify abstention from nuclear testing. The drafting of such a treaty within the framework of the conference on disarmament and full-scale Soviet-American talks on limiting nuclear testing and eventually stopping it altogether will mutually supplement each other and lead to a common goal. They are prepared constructively to consider any other proposals and considerations towards resolving the issue as soon as possible.

The Warsaw Treaty member states believe that the conference on disarmament has laid down a good groundwork for the practical and purposeful work to prevent the arms race in outer space. The socialist countries have put forward concrete proposals on this issue.

The states, represented at the meeting, stress the need to step up the work of the conference in other important directions as well, with due account taken of relevant resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly, which express the will of the overwhelming majority of the world's states.

They propose to thoroughly discuss at the third special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament all aspects of the work of the conference on disarmament with the aim of enhancing its efficiency.

The Warsaw Treaty member states come out in favour of joining efforts in the spirit of constructive and nonconfrontational dialogue to outline ways and means of increasing the real results from the talks at the conference on disarmament in Geneva. They propose to discuss and coordinate the following practical measures:

First, to introduce a more intensive timetable at the conference so that it could function throughout the year, adjourning two or three times. To agree to make the auxiliary bodies of the conference, in keeping with its general mandate, function until the completion of its work rather than on a yearly basis.

Second, to more actively draw experts and scientific centres in different countries into the elaboration of problems facing the conference. To practise more widely the creation, of necessity, of expert teams in relevant areas. To consider the question of drawing at different forums, primarily by creating a consultative council at the conference, of well-known scientists and public figures in a search for solutions to the most complex problems of disarmament facing the conference, and of timely recognising long-term factors which are crucial for strengthening security.

Third, by agreement between the participants in the conference, to hold meetings at foreign ministers' level during highly crucial moments, including when difficulties of principle arise during talks. Meetings with the participation of ministers would give a positive impulse to the process of such important talks.

The Warsaw Treaty member states find it expedient for all states, not participating in the conference on disarmament, to be given an opportunity to make their contribution to its work. In their opinion, the conference could become a permanent universal instrument of talks on disarmament.

The states, represented at the meeting, note that the talks on security and disarmament, both bilateral and multilateral, mutually supplement and enrich each other.

The Warsaw Treaty member states state their readiness to constructively take part in considering and implementing all concrete proposals, irrespective of where they came from, aimed at intensifying and stepping up the efficiency of the conference on disarmament.

Bessmertnykh Briefs Envoys on U.S. Talks

LD311824 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1733 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow, 31 Oct (TASS)—Immediately following the return of Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, from Washington, where he held talks with the President and the U.S. Secretary of state on topical issues of Soviet-U.S. relations, the ambassadors of Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, the DPRK, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia were invited to the USSR Foreign Ministry. Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, who is USSR Deputy foreign minister and who took part in the Washington talks, briefed them in detail on the results of the talks in the U.S. capital.

It was stressed that at the root of the talks lay principled positions and specific ideas which had been set out in the personal message from Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to President Ronald Reagan. These proposals, as well as the results of the previous talks in Moscow and Washington, made possible an agreement on the concept and agenda for a summit meeting of the leaders of the USSR and the United States in Washington, which will begin on 7 December 1987.

Particular attention was devoted to the understanding that was reached, namely that during their summit meeting in the United States the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the U.S. President will sign the treaty on the total elimination of USSR and U.S. medium- and shorter-range missiles. They will also spell out instructions for their delegations regarding a future treaty on a 50% reduction in USSR and U.S. strategic offensive arms in conditions of observing the ABM Treaty—with no withdrawal from it—for the duration of an agreed period.

It was noted that this major accord follows the course of the socialist states' agreed policy on strengthening universal security, which received new momentum at the meeting of foreign ministers from the Warsaw Treaty Organization member states in Prague on 28-29 October this year.

'Top Priority' Program on U.S.-Soviet Talks
LD011348 Moscow World Sevice in English 2210 GMT 31 Oct 87

["Top Priority" program presented by Pavel Kuznetsov, with Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to "Top Priority" with Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov. I'm Pavel Kuznetsov your host. Now the topic for today's discussion, is the current situation in Soviet-American relations, namely the recent round of talks in Moscow and the subsequent visit of Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to Washington with a message to President Reagan from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

In the course of this brief visit it was announced that Mikhail Gorbachev would come to the United States for a summit with President Reagan, and that official talks would start on 7 December. The agenda is expected to include not only the signing of an INF accord on scrapping all Soviet and American intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, but also a thorough exchange of views on long-range arms cuts and the ABM Treaty. Now I'd like you to sum up very briefly the positions of Moscow and Washington on these three key issues. Who'd like to begin? Professor Bogdanov.

[Bogdanov] My feeling is that it's quite natural that both sides, being very near to such important agreements, are very cautiously moving into that direction because stakes are so high that you cannot neglect all the details, you cannot neglect the substance. In any case, that's a very rare occasion in the Soviet-American relations that you are within the reach of very substantial achievement. If we look from that point of view at what had happened in Moscow, things will be absolutely clear, I'm afraid

[Kuznetsov] What do you mean by what happened in Moscow? That there was no date or fixed date for a summit or what?

[Bogdanov] Well, no, no. First of all we have witnessed such a dramatization of the situation made by the mass media in the United States that they have created an impression that we were about, about to bring a failure of all that.

[Kuznetsov] Excuse me for interrupting you, but they were dramatizing, or perhaps overdramatizing, the outcome of the talks in the United States but we were kind of silent. Were we stunned over what happened?

[Plekhanov] Well we all certainly expected that there would be more progress made at the Moscow talks, and we were disappointed that Secretary Shultz did not consider it possible to discuss the question of adhering to the ABM treaty and

[Bogdanov] Sergey, but on the other, on the other hand secretary general offered to the secretary of state a new set of proposals.

[Plekhanov] Yeah, which require consideration.

[Bogdanov] Which requires consideration and some kind of a pause just to think it over. Do you expect secretary of state to react immediately, to say yes or no?

[Kuznetsov] So we've come back to my initial question: What were the positions of Moscow and Washington on these three main issues, I mean INF, long-range arms and the ABM treaty? In a nutshell.

[Bogdanov] In, in, in a nutshell parties were moving toward each other. That's my answer.

[Kuznetsov] Ah. Without any positions? Just drifting toward each other, what?

[Plekhanov] Yes, well, on INF almost all the obstacles have been removed. There are just several small things that remain to be agreed upon. On the strategic offensive weapons, the Soviet Union has made additional proposals which seem to meet the American ideal that there must be not only the total limitation, the limitation on the total number of warheads, but also some sublimits on various kinds of weapons, and ICBM's in the first place. As far as the third issue is concerned, that means that is adhering to the ABM treaty, strict adhering, adherance to the ABM treaty and nonwithdrawal from the ABM treaty for 10 years. On that issue there has been, the United States continues to maintain that it does not want to discuss the SDI as such, and it insists on its right to go ahead with the SDI, with or without ABM treaty. Of course they interpret the ABM treaty in such a manner that, that allegedly provides room for SDI. But that interpretation is not supported by most of...

[Kuznetsov—interrupting] I, I, I heard that the American team headed by Secretary Shultz was under orders from President Reagan not to discuss SDI. When in Moscow the two sides failed to set a date, a concrete date for a summit, now this was described as a Soviet ploy to obtain last minute concessions from the United States on SDI, especially at a time when President Reagan is being described as a battered president. And this version may strike one as highly plausible in the light of such unfortunate developments as the escalation of hostilities in the Persian Gulf, the stock market crash or turmoil, then the President's failure to nominate Robert Bork to the Supreme Court, and the like. What do you think about it?

[Bogdanov] Pavel, I do not buy it at all. I believe there is no bit of truth in that. We should look very realistically at the process of talks. Two parties are meeting. They have different positions on different things, and they have different set of proposals. Do you expect them within 3, 4, even 5 hours of talks to settle everything?

Most important that they were talking to each other, exchanging views, but they needed time, they needed time to go back home, or to get in touch with highest authorities just to get their position about that. The American side had to digest new Soviet proposals, and we had to wait until we have a reaction from the American side. And so far as I understand, we have that reaction very, within very short range of time. The reaction is that the American side is ready to talk, ready to discuss the points we have reasoned within our meeting with the secretary of state. So what, what's dramatic in all that Pavel, you tell me, if, if somebody id interested to dramatize that and to make it something quite a show, or circus or whatever it is.

[Plekhanov] Well, I'll tell you something if you ask me. Boris Pyadyshev, our foreign Ministry spokesman, said that once the United States agreed to exchange views on long-range arms cuts, and to talk about the ABM treaty, which is directly linked to SDI, this is what made the summit possible, and I gather that in Moscow the American side was not prepared to discuss SDI or the ABM treaty, and that was the snag that prevented the two sides from setting a concrete date. That may answer to your question.

[Bogdanov] But there is one point of misunderstanding which I would like to clarify. We never were against summit meeting, from the very beginning. We were always for summit meeting. And we never came back from that obligation, if you like. What we were discussing, we were discussing the better environment for the summit meeting and the agenda which will make the summit meeting a real event [words indistinct] in the Soviet-American relations.

[Kuznetsov] Yes. I have a report from, an *Associated Press* report from Washington, which says that an arms accord with the Soviet Union eliminating intermediate-range nuclear missiles will have to be balanced by modernizing other atomic weapons in Europe, and possibly deploying more of them. Now this was stated on Thursday by Alton Keel who is the United States ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. My headache is, what I cannot understand is this: We've been told very emphatically not to hold an INF accord hostage to such other issues as limits on SDI, the ABM treaty and so on. But at the same time, this same accord is being held hostage to an increase in conventional battlefield nukes by NATO. Now what is it, a paradox or some strange twist in thinking?

[Plekhanov] Yeah, that, that sounds a little like a surgeon telling a patient I will cut out this cancer out of your body, but I'll place another cancer nearby. That's, that's something like that. But that logic I think is absolutely unacceptable. I don't think that it's going to work because this first step in removing nuclear weapons, destroying nuclear weapons has any meaning at all only if it is complemented by other similar steps, not by balances of the sort that Mr Keel is talking about, removing one kind of missile, one mind of weapons and putting in another one. No we are starting a road down to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons on all fronts, and conventional cuts as well.

[Kuznetsov] Excuse me. Why do they keep forgetting about this Soviet proposal to start talking about radical cuts in conventional arms?

[Plekhanov] No, no, they're counting, in the first place they want to keep it away from the public understanding, and of course, the understanding of the general public in the West, and I am talking on the basis of a poll result, poll results that I have seen, is surprisingly scanty. [as heard] The people are not informed, they are not being told, they simply don't know what the Soviet Union is offereing. And I'm talking not only of the general public, but even some experts. And some congressmen, and then senators. Maybe the members of the administration.

[Kuznetsov] And Professor Bogdanov I interrupted you on this.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, my feeling is that when I hear something like that, I always have a suspicion that people at the American end are very seriously thinking of opening another arms race channel. That worries me very much, and people at the American end should be aware that we understand all that, and we are very cautious about that.

[Plekhanov] And this is exactly why our side has insisted on, on broadening the agenda of a summit meeting, because there are people, it seems, in Washington, who would like to limit any progress in arms control to this particular issue of INF. Seal the INF, parcel it, and then get back to the old business of the arms race. Start it in another direction.

[Kuznetsov] Is this because the technology, the kind of technology that we have is not only applicable for making, and good for making futuristic weapons in space, but also by, for increasing the quality, the level of sophistication of conventional arms or what?

[Bogdanov] Many, many factors are in it, but there is one basic factor and I'm sorry for my to, I apologize to my, to our American listeners. It's again American way of thinking which has nothing to do with the new thinking. They still believe that technology may solve all political problems, and the military technology especially. That's why even when they are very nearby a real peaceful solutions of the problem, they are still thinking along the lines of military solutions. That, that's a very old way.

[Kuznetsov] Are you suggesting that the thinking,the thinking in Washington is either the Soviets accept some of our terms at least, or they face an economic upset, an economic defeat because of our advanced technolocy?

[Bogdanov] Pavel, I'm sorry to say, but I strongly believe that at least some quarters in this administration are thinking along this line.

[Kuznetsov] Right, thank you. As far as SDI is concerned, within the Reagan administration there are two lines of thought so to speak. One is that the program is too valuable for the nation's security to be negotiated or to be turned into a bargaining chip, and the other line of thought has it that perhaps we could at least discuss with the Soviets to see what they propose, what kind of limitation and cuts they propose for this program without damaging this futuristic thing. Is this, (?plus) an American pledge of a nonwithdrawal period of 10 years from the ABM treaty, the essence of the Soviet position currently?

[Plekhanov] Well, it seems that there is a lot of similarity between the two positions because we are actively searching for terms of compromise. If President Reagan believes in the SDI so much that he can't imagine, you know, a world without it or a vision of the world without it, then he has the benefit of the doubt. But we have a treaty which was signed by both sides and, I mean, if the United States is a serious partner then we should expect from it that it honors that treaty. So what we are offering is recognizing that we understand these problems differently from each other, but let's find enough concensus, enough area of concensus in the legal-political area concerning the ABM treaty, and making certain that we understand its terms in similar ways and then sort of put off the dispute until some later stage. So I think that's where we could really find some common ground. But, of course, that will require some understanding on the American side, that destruction of the ABM treaty would be very bad for both the American interests and for the Soviet interests, for the world at large.

[Kuznetsov] Thank you. I know that you've had a short visit to China and your impressions on this great country could become a separate topic for one of our future "Top Priority" programs; in the meantime, just one question. How is the current situation in U.S.-Soviet relations viewed in China? Is it still seen as superpower rivalry and that nothing good will come out of it?

[Bogdanov] Pavel, I have an impression, and I don't know how is my friend Sergey, but my impression is that the Chinese experts are very much interested in the development of the Soviet-American relations from very positive point of view.

[Plekhanov] They used to treat them as a threat to China.

[Bogadnov] No, no, no, that was 20 years ago. Now in China you feel that you, you, you deal with very sophisticated people, with very knowledgeable people. They know not only a lot about the Soviet-American relations, but they have very established views on that which are better relations between USSR and united states, better for the world. That's my very brief answer.

[Kuznetsov] What is your impression Sergey?

[Plekhanov] I think that they support that position by very persuasive arguments. They see the world entering a stage when everybody, every country will have to restructure its economy. We have entered a new stage of the technological revolution. They recognize it very clearly and they see a trend developing both in the United States and the Soviet Union toward a greater concentration on the solution of domestic economic tasks because both sides face a lot of problems which need resources and attention. And so that is the main thing that, in their view, impels both the Americans and the Soviets to agreements, toward agreements on reducing tensions, reducing the burden of armaments, finding more room for cooperation, and they ask is it good for China? Well of course they say it is good for China because China also needs to spend less money on arms and it also needs less tension in the Asian-Pacific area.

[Kuznetsov] And at least a short respite from the arms race?

[Plekhanov] Well, everybody is looking for it, so I think that that's a very encouraging sign because if you have such a viewpoint from the most populous nation in the world, which in the past, it is important to (?note), in the past looked askance on detente. [as heard] Detente one, was not — I mean between the Soviet Union and the United States — was not a positive world used in China. That is an important shift, I think, in favor of peace.

[Kuznetsov] Thank you. I'm afraid our time is up and, well, thanks for coming, and let's keep our fingers crossed in the hope that there will be no last minute snag in the way of a Soviet-American accord on, on physically eliminating two classes of nuclear arms and we wish well and hope that it'll lead to further steps in this direction. And on this note, I'm Pavel Kuznetsov your host on "Top Priority" signing off till next week at the same time and on the same wavelength. Goodbye.

Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable'

LD012143 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 1 Nov 87

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Boris Andrianov, All-Union Radio foreign political commentator and his "colleagues" Nikolay Agayants and Vitaliy Sobolev]

[Text] [Andrianov] Hello, comrades. Here to take part in our roundtable meeting today are two international affairs journalists who are no strangers to you: my colleagues Nikolay Ivanovich Agayants and Vitaliy Sergeyevich Sobolev.

We are only a few days away from 7 November when the Soviet people and progressive mankind throughout the world will mark a notable date in the history of the world's first state of workers and peasants: the 70th

anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Tomorrow and the day after, a 2-day festive session dedicated to that event will be held in the Palace of Congresses at the Kremlin. Let me remind you that among those invited, apart from the members of the elective leading party bodies and the deputies of the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and RSFSR, are thousands of front-rankers of production, 300 veterans of the revolution, and 900 foreign guests.

As announced at the press center for the 70th anniversary of the Great October, which opened last Monday, on 4 and 5 November there will be a meeting of the communist, socialist, social-democrat, workers, labor, revolutionary-democratic, and national liberation parties and organizations, which will be informal in character. It will be held in the form of free discussion without a set agenda. Incidentally, delegations are expected to arrive in Moscow from 13 socialist countries; 30 ruling parties of the developing states; more than 80 communist and workers parties; more than 30 socialist, social-democrat, and labour parties; and about 15 delegations from revolutionary-democratic organizations. Additionally, invited to the October festivities this year are representatives of the Indian National Congress, the Finnish Center Party, the West German Greens, and some other parties. In a word, the conference will be very representative. Preparations for the festival are in full swing.

[Sobolev] But there is one thing, Boris Vasiliyevich, that is symptomatic, and to which many foreign correspondents accredited in our country and guests of the capital are drawing attention. It is that, if you compare the materials appearing in this year's festive newspapers and magazines with those that were issued on the eve of the October festivities 3, 5, or 7 years ago, you certainly can't fail to notice a striking change in the work of our media. Against the background of the former loud-voiced reports of victories achieved, the tone of what is being said today seems calm and businesslike.

[Andrianov] And therefore more optimistic, more confident, more sincere.

[Sobolev] There are, of course, reports of the achievements of Soviet people in various fields; there are also materials expressing reasoned criticism. But what is absent — or shall we say, almost absent — is the beating of drums, the wild rapture, and the eulogies. Of course, in the words of the song, we do still relapse at times into an idle and ostentatious way of talking, but such relapses are atypical, and that is a sign of the times, a sign of our days. Let us recall the concern that restructuring should go ahead and gather strength, that our deeds should not fall short of our words.

The rapid processes that are taking place in the Soviet Union — all that is included in the capacious and very precise word restructuring — are arousing enormous interest in the world, which is natural. As proof of it, we have the innumerable materials appearing in the pages of foreign publications and in the radio and television programs of various countries. Further proof is the very fact that the word restructuring itself has transcended the boundaries of the Soviet Union and become international, that it's in use everywhere in its Russian form. The materials devoted to restructuring are not all the same kind; which is not surprising, since behind them are the positions of certain forces, of certain social and political organizations. If we try to pick out the main element in the reactions to the events of the past 2 and 1/2 years in our country that are reaching us, there is every reason to assert that both our friends and our enemies are taking the process of restructuring seriously. The Soviet State's policy of restructuring is being seen by the majority of observers as deeply revolutionary in character and of historic importance. Today's restructuring is nothing other than a continuation and development of the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The fact that we have boldly embarked upon a majestic creative task, upon transformations that demand a consolidation of all the forces of our society, is one more convincing proof of the confidence of Soviet people in the rightness of the path they have chosen — their confidence that peace on earth can be preserved and strengthened.

[Agayants] The cause of peace has become the pivot of all our foreign-political activity. The whole of the 70-year path travelled by the Soviet Union is the path of the struggle to put into practice the course proclaimed by Lenin's Decree on Peace. That is how it was yesterday; that is how matters still stand today. It can be said without any exaggeration that the eyes of millions are on the processes that are happening in our country. They look upon them with the eyes of faith and of hope. Faith that restructuring will be crowned with success; hope that this, in turn, will impart a strong positive stimulus to changes in international politics and to fulfilment of the age-old dream of mankind: the achievement of peace without wars and without weapons.

[Andrianov] You know, the important thing to note, Nikolay Ivanovich, is this: that in the course of the present restructuring, the very image of socialism is being transformed in our country. And it's not just its material base and sociospiritual structure that's changing: there is also, plain to see, the foreign-political program of restructuring, which is already determining the new political practice of the Soviet Union in international affairs. Restructuring in this sphere is manifesting itself, above all, in the energy with which the Soviet leadership is endeavoring to overcome the cold war and the splitting of the world into hostile alliances and camps. All this is the direct result of the new political thinking. This forms the foundation of the new political practice. And our country's foreign policy has firmly set out on that path. Confirmation of this is provided by the stagewise initiative of the Soviet Union; the program for a nuclear-free world; the idea of an all-embracing system of international security; the program for Asia and the

Pacific, and for the north of our planet; the global double-zero; and the new ideas for the United Nations organization.

[Sobolev] I'd like to add that restructuring is attracting worldwide attention precisely because of its foreign-policy aspect, which envisages a democratization, humanization of relations between states and greater openness in conducting them. The Soviet proposals are already beginning to produce certain results, and this inspires greater hope — it's hope I'd like to speak of at present — both in global relations, and hope of solving various regional conflicts. Perhaps Soviet restructuring is the thing that is making it possible for people in various parts of the world — both in Europe and in America and in our country — to hope for an improvement of the whole international situation in its various aspects and forms. When we now propose a recognition of peace as the highest value of existence, we are also proposing a concrete progarm of how to achieve that aim. This, the urgent need to achieve that aim, is understood everywhere in the world. That understanding gives the foreign political program of restructuring an enormous power of attraction throughout the world, both in the Soviet Union and beyond.

[Andrianov] Of course, quite a few difficulties remain on the path toward those aims, but they can be overcome if we display political will, if we seek and find rational mutually acceptable compromises that will inflict no damage on either side and ensure their equal security, while at the same time promoting progress on a course that leads to the cessation of the dizzy arms race and to the elimination of the nuclear threat for all mankind.

[Agayants] Last week in Moscow, as you'll remember, talks were held between U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, and our country's foreign minister, Comrade Shevardnadze. Undoubtedly to be put down on the credit side of those talks is that during that meeting they succeeded in overcoming some serious obstacles that had arisen at the talks in Geneva. The position regarding the Pershing-1A missiles was finally sewn up; a time-scale was agreed for eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles; and agreement was reached on the procedure for their elimination and on the exchange of data on both classes of missiles. In short, a step of enormous importance has been taken. After all, for the first time since the beginning of the nuclear era, we are talking not just of limiting nuclear weapons, but of destroying them. A truly historic precedent is being set.

In the assessments of the agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles that is now in preparation, the point that's being emphasized is precisely that this agreement is of value both in itself and even more as a precedent: as a possibility of continuing the disarmament process further. This precedent prompts the thought that we must look ahead. The world expects from the third meeging of the leaders of the USSR and the United States something more; the international public expects that the first agreement on nuclear weapons will mark the beginning of a deeper and more substantial process.

Now that the work on an agreement to eliminate the two classes of nuclear missiles is near completion, it's worth remembering how a missile confrontation was once before eliminated—and in very dramatic circumstances. I refer to the Caribbean crisis, 25 years ago. This is its silver jubilee, as it were. But the point lies not in the magic of round figures, but rather in the lesson that we are still learning from that conflict which almost became a disaster, and in the parallels that can be drawn with the present day, insofar as we still have no guarantee, full guarantee, alas, against disaster. No doubt listeners will remember that the crunch came as a result of the U.S. blockade of Cuba and the detection by their air reconnaissance of Soviet medium-range missiles in Cuba. At the approaches to Cuba were Soviet ships with other weapons on board, but their way was blocked by U.S. warships. Both the former and the latter were carrying out previously issued orders which must, in the nature of things, have led to a clash. Other orders were needed, and fortunately both sides managed to give them in time. Now, as to the parallels between then and now, at that time the United States went to extremes for the sake of eliminating the medium-range Soviet missiles threatening their territory. In the eighties, in accordance with a NATO decision, missiles of the same type began to be deployed in Europe, posing a threat to the Soviet Union. Now however, it has not yet come to a crisis, but those missiles have added very appreciably to the tension in the interantioal atmosphere. The ability to reach an agreement shown by the leadership of both countries 25 years ago has become, as it were, political capital that has not been exhausted to this day.

Another view is possible regarding the outcome both of that problem and of the one facing us today. It it had not been for the Soviet missiles, the United States would not have been forced to refrain from undertaking aggression against Cuba. And if it were not for the Soviet SS-20 missiles, as they're called in the West, we wouldn't have had the zero or double-zero formula, and it wouldn't have become possible to eliminate the program for the building of the Pershing-2's and of the medium-range nuclear cruise missiles. Let me remind you that those programs date from long before NATO'S double option.

Unfortunately, even 20 years later we have not learned to avoid danger until a dangerous confrontation takes shape. New political thinking guides leading figures toward a different approach, toward reasonable restraint. In particular — and I now consider this to be the No. 1 question — in particular the Star Wars programs should, and, in principle, can be halted even before the need arises for the red, or the hotline telephone as they call it, between Moscow and Washington. Ideally, these telephone lines ought always to remain

warm, so to speak. Perhaps the accord on the current medium-range missiles will translate this opportunity into a reality. We now have that hope.

[Andrianov] It may appear illogical that I want to divert the discussion from the Caribbean crisis, or more accurately from recollections of those days, back to the process of restructuring, but here is why. When we touched upon this aspect of our conversation, I recalled that the very same process was under discussion at the 13th CPC Congress. It may be boldly stated that this forum of the Chinese Communists took place under the slogan of restructuring, which has already led to important shifts in the social and political life of a country with a population of a billion people. And, as was stated in the report of the CPC Central Committee, socialist reform — if one bears in mind the breadth and depth of the social changes it entails — represents yet another revolution. Presenting the report at the congress, Zhao Ziyang, acting general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, pointed out that in the 9 years since the start of the reform, the national product and financial income of the state have practically doubled. The average income of town and country dwellers doubled. China's population, in its absolute majority, doesn't starve now; it is clothed and shod. Generally speaking, an end has been put to the acute shortage of consumer goods, and the problem of unemployment is being successfully resolved. The PRC national economy is firmly set on the track of confident and harmonious development.

[Agayants] But one should also note the following: There was also talk at the CPC Congress that the country is faces many problems and difficulties. There are even more of them numerous than previously assumed, Zhao Ziyang said. For this reason, he stressed, the central task of the congress is to devote particular attention to accelerating and deepening restructuring. The report analyzes the basic factors holding back restructuring in the country and maps out steps for their effective elimination, and also, the thesis that only under socialism is it possible to resolve the urgent social and economic problems of China, is substantiated in detail.

[Andrianov] In the course of discussion of the report of the CPC Central Committee, the main problems of the contemporary world were touched upon at the forum of the Chinese Communists. It was stressed in particular that under the powerful influence of the forces of the peoples of the whole planet in defense of peace, and the striving to develop their countries, the call for an end to the arms race, aggression and expansion, for genuine disarmament, and a most speedy resolution of all regional conflicts is sounding with increasing force.

After all, over the last few days, the situation in the Persian Gulf zone has grown significantly more acute. Many foreign observers are remarking with alarm that the threat of the scope of the Iran-Iraq conflict spreading—in which the United States is getting more and more embroiled, using the existing tense situation to escalate its military presence in the explosive region—is becoming a reality.

[Agayants] It is absolutely clear that U.S. reliance on force has not merely not simplified but has to a significant degree complicated the situation in the Persian Gulf region, whose waters are plied by a U.S. naval armada unprecedented in its power for peacetime. This is what is typical in my view: The United States is stubbornly seeking an excuse to bring down the whole force of its armed forces on Iranian territory, while Iran, out of the mouths of its leaders, states its readiness to crushingly repulse an aggressor and to conduct war against him up to a victorious result. It is clear that in such a situation, the smallest spark is enough for a fire to erupt. It is also clear that it is possible to reduce the acuteness of the situation not by playing with and showing off military muscle, but only by political and diplomatic means. In these circumstances, our country's leadership has taken new steps to render the utmost support to the mission of the UN secretary general. This week, on Wednesday, as has already been reported, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov set off on a visit to Baghdad, Kuwait, and Tehran.

[Sobolev] In connection with what has been said here, I think that it is worth recalling that the participants in the meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty states, having exchanged views on existing hotspots of tension and conflict around the globe, confirmed their countries' resolve to facilitate their just, political settlement. Touching in particular on the situation in the Persian Gulf zone, they stressed the need for a most speedy end to the Iran-Iraq conflict, the full and immediate implementation of Security Council Resolution 598, the withdrawal of foreign naval fleets from the Gulf, and the guarantee of the freedom of navigation in the region.

I sense that in our conversation, my role is to introduce a small note of optimism in our discussion, and so, we have just been speaking about the Persian Gulf where the situation is continuing to deteriorate, but there are other hotspots, as we call them, where the situation may be viewed with a certain optimism and hope.

At present, the situation in Central America is attracting more and more attention in so far as the term set by the Guatemalan agreements is drawing near; less than a week remains before it. It is true that this term is not a dogma; those who set it can also postpone it, and recently there has been discussion of such a possibility. However, the value of the Guatemalan agreement consists, among other things, in this constricted period which will make it possible to define whether there is genuine good will and a genuine desire for peace. In any

event, this period is sufficient for the Nicaraguan Government, which finds it hardest to carry out the Guatemalan accords. Nicaragua has implemented almost everything mapped out in Guatemala at the meeting of the five Central American presidents. New steps to meet opposition demands concerning the participants in the dialogue between the Sandinists and their political opponents have just been announced. However, the Nicaraguan Government is firmly refusing to enter into talks with the top leaders of the counterrevolutionary organizations and has stated that further steps, in keeping with the agreement, can only be taken on the basis of reciprocity; that is, on condition of simultaneously ending the use of the territories of neighboring countries for anti-Nicaraguan actions, and ending aid for the Somozists who must renounce military actions against the legal government of Nicaragua. Only in this event can there be talk of lifting the state of emergency and of a general amnesty. As formerly, the Sandinists are expressing readiness for direct talks with the U.S. leadership without preconditions. Honduras is now seeking to sabotage these demands and, as formerly, the United States is rejecting Nicaragua's proposals.

Despite the fact that serious divergences remain in the positions of Central American countries, the recent foreign ministers meeting led to optimistic results, and its participants were basically satisfied with these results. Thus, whatever the circumstances in which 5 November — the scheduled date — starts in Central America, the Guatemalan process will be continued. It has already accumulated valuable experience. Doubtlessly, mass demonstrations will take place on this day in various countries, and the political opponents of the Nicaraguan Sandinists are preparing for demonstrations. But the Sandinist Front intends to bring its supporters out into the streets on this day. National reconciliation has become a banner of the age. It was only quite recently that it was formulated as a concept, and nowadays it is increasingly acquiring the features of a real process and newer and newer supporters.

[Andrianov] Amongst the events that took place abroad this week, the national referendum in South Korea is noteworthy, in my view. It was held Tuesday, 27 October. The draft for the reform of the constitution was tabled for voting. What is the essence of this constitution? First and foremost, the draft of the new basic law envisages free, direct presidential elections. This is the main thing, so to speak, that the leaders of the South Korean bourgeois opposition were trying to attain. They hoped that the change of guard in the post of head of state would bring about changes in the character of the Seoul regime, bourgeois-democratic changes, of course. While imposing restrictions on some powers of the president, the draft for reform of the constitution envisages liberalization in human rights and more freedom of the press, again in the bourgeois sense of the words. It also forbids the military to engage in political activity.

[Sobolev] But do you not think, Boris Vasilyevich, that this last ban is somewhat strange? Look, what emerges: the present rulers of the Seoul regime promise and guarantee a kind of political neutrality on the part of the armed forces. Yet, everyone knows that it is precisely the military brass that occupy all the key posts in the South Korean leadership. If my recollections are correct, some 6 years ago right after General Chon Tu-hwan, his myrmidons who took over power urgently exchanged their military uniforms for civilian dress to make it look as if there had been a transition to a civilian form of government in South Korea. Yet, until recently, this has not at all prevented them from restorting to the military fist in home policies.

[Andrianov] We will talk about the role of the South Korean military later. Now, however, I would like to get back to the recent referendum. A little over three-quarters of the electorate took part. Ninety-three percent of those spoke in favor of the reform of the constitution. One could have expected this, since the consent to the reform was literally wrung from the Seoul authorities by the participants in mass actions. Their powerful waves spread across all South Korea, covering even its remote parts. Yet, the membership of this movement is not by any means homogeneous. Along with radical students as well as workers who rose to fight for their elementary rights, this movement also comprises representatives of the middle bourgeois classes. But it is mainly their interests that the leaders of the opposition expressed. The participants of the antigovernment actions were united by the demand that a stop should be put to Chon Tu-hwan's dictatorial regime and that a democratization of public life should begin. This is what the politicians of the opposition are now relying on, while hoping that it is their representative who will be supported at the presidential elections by all those who are not happy with the present Seoul regime and its rulers.

[Agayants] The ruling circles do not appear willing to part with power. It is not furtuitous that, 4 and 1/2 months ago now, they put forward their own candidate for the presidential post. This is former General No Tae-u, the leader of the ruling democratic Justice Party, as they call it. In addition to all this, his candidature was put forward by Chon Tu-hwan personally, by the present dictator. To all appearances, it is precisely this man No Tae-u to whom the Seoul ruler intends to hand over his presidential post to. On 25 February Chon Tu-hwan will have to abandon his presidential post, and by then No Tae-u will have had to win the elections, which are to be held before 20 December. The precise date, as far as I know, will be announced 30 days before election day.

[Andrianov] In the opinion of foreign observers, the referendum held in Seoul has whipped up political passions around the approaching elections.

In addition to No Tae-u, Kim Chong-pil, a representative of the extreme right, as well as two politicians of the opposition, Kim Yong-sam and Kim Tae-ching and an ex-prime minister, are also listed among the presidential aspirants. These two Kims, as they are abbreviated for

convenience in South Korea, could not settle on one candidate from the opposition camp. Each has decided to compete at the elections independently. Things reached the stage where Kim Tae-ching announced last Thursday that he is leaving the Democratic Unification Party headed by Kim Yong-sam and will in the near future set up a new party to support his own preelection campaign. This is frought with serious dissent in the camp of antigovernment forces, while that dissent, in turn, threatens a decline in the authority of the leaders, in the eyes of the South Korean public which will, of course, damage the opposition politicians' chances of winning the presidential election.

[Sobolev] I would like to note that in their comments on the four candidates for the presidential post, the foreign press organs do not see any special difference between them. Thus, for example, the Japanese newspaper *Tokyo Shimbun* believes that there is no special difference between the aspirants' programs in a political sense, since they are all conservative in their nature. The content of these programs amounts to a defense of the parliamentary system and of the capitalist economy, preserving the U.S. military presence, and strengthening the existing system of ensuring security. The elections are above all a measure personal popularity and, ultimately, political ambitions.

[Andrianov] Of course, ambitions play a certain role in this matter. But there are also some nuances in the descriptions of the four aspirants, and these their effect on the attitude of the military toward the candidates. The magazine *US News and World Report* describes the military as a considerable unknown quantity in the forthcoming elections. The magazine believes that one cannot rule out the possibility of a military coup after the elections if Kim Tae-chung wins. Many South Korean officers regard him as an ultraleft extremist. This is a deliberate exaggeration, of course, but undoubtedly for all the moderateness of his bourgeois liberal ideas, Kim Tae-chung is not a favorite of the army top brass of the Seoul regime. This factor, it can be assumed, may well be used by the ruling circles of South Korea in order to turn the development of events in the direction they need.

Incidentally, one should not forget Washington's stand. It has probably already been outlined in Seoul by Michael Armacost, the U.S. undersecretary of state for political affairs, who was there last week to familiarize himself, as reported, with the political situation in South Korea. Washington's emissary has not listed Kim Tae-chung among the people he met in Seoul. If this is an oversight, it is quite symptomatic. Surely, there cannot be any accidental slips in such matters, particularly when South Korea is involved here. The vested interests that the United States has there are very directly linked with global plans of the Washington politicians.

[Sobolev] In other words, the United States is putting its stake on crude forces as, say, in South America. Have I understood you correctly, Boris Vasilyevich?

[Andrianov] Yes, I absolutely agree with the way you understand the prospects of the development of events in South Korea in the light of the forthcoming presidential elections.

There we conclude our meeting at the roundtable. All its participants thank you for your attention, esteemed comrades, radio listeners. Goodbye. All the best.

Gromyko, Demichev Meet 'Peace Wave' Group

PM301143 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Oct 87 Second Edition pp 1,3

[TASS report: "'Peace Wave' Representatives at Kremlin"]

[Excerpts] On 24 October A.A. Gromyko received in the Kremlin a group of members of the Presidium of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace and leaders of the Soviet Peace Foundation. They are all participants in the "Peace Wave," which began in Hiroshima and has spread across the world. This international action is given special significance by being held on UN Day and coincides with the the beginning of UN Disarmament Week, which is designed to develop common peace efforts. [passage omitted]

In his speech A.A. Gromyko expressed on the Soviet leadership's behalf approval and support for the "Peace Wave," which was given impetus by the date, 24 October, UN Day.

At the same time he spoke about certain facts connected with the creation of the United Nations which are inadequately and sometimes even somewhat perfunctorily covered in some press organs. He demonstrated by means of specific examples that the Soviet Union was involved in the birth of the United Nations and both during and after World War II did all in its power to act in concert with its allies and prevent any repetition of the tragedy. Great credit is due the leadership of our country of that period for creating the United Nations as an effective instrument of peace.

The Soviet Union put forward a harmonious concept of action by states in a spirit of unity. This applies above all to those who, for clear reasons, bear special responsibility for maintaining peace and preventing a new war. Our country showed not only what these powers must do but also how this concept could be implemented—with unanimity when taking decisions on important questions of international life.

A.A. Gromyko recalled that the Soviet Union was an initiator of the struggle to end the arms race and achieve disarmament right at the beginning of UN activity, in 1946. Any standpoint which describes the Western powers as the initiators of this struggle is deception.

Immediately after the last salvo of the war was fired the Soviet Union stated in the United Nations that nuclear weapons should be banned for ever. Today this question is posed with even greater urgency and unprecedented force. Nuclear weapons must be not only banned but completely scrapped by the end of the 20th century.

The Soviet Union's contribution to the cause of disarmament is enormous. Our country and its policy shine brightly from their place in the international community. Their light can be seen from afar, from all corners of the world, so to speak. That is why it is necessary that the facts connected with the glorious past be covered more often in today's press.

Talking about the present day, A.A. Gromyko observed that the situation today is multifaceted and complex. Everyone, if they think objectively, must recognize that the world exists today atop mountains of nuclear weapons stockpiled over more than 40 years. If even some of those mountains of weapons were to be used, then, as modern science rightly states, the earth's civilization would cease to exist.

At the same time the disarmament struggle, in which the Soviet Union and the socialist states play the leading role, is intensifying. It will clearly be possible to sign a treaty on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles in the near future. The just-published report on the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, is evidence of this. Then, as the report says, the question of the main arsenal—strategic nuclear weapons—will have to be dealt with. Much intensive work to eliminate them lies ahead.

It is right to say that the peace campaigners have their finger on the pulse of the times. It is essential that the peace struggle not slacken. It must be continued and experience exchanged with friends abroad, and they number millions. Your activity is a great support both for the Soviet Union and all states which pursue a peace policy.

I would also like to express the following thought. The struggle for peace and disarmament is consonant with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenums of our party's Central Committee and, in particular, with the plenum held a few days ago which examined questions connected with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and certain current tasks.

The strength of Soviet foreign policy lies in the fact that it it is supported by our domestic policy. The stronger a country's support in domestic affairs—and this now means in the great affair of restructuring—the more confident it feel in its foreign policy activity. This is a reality of our times.

Our enemies would feel great satisfaction if the Soviet Union's economic and social development plans were to be frustrated. Yes, important and complex tasks face the country, but we must and will solve them. This confidence is conveyed to our entire people, who are closely united around the party.

I want to wish you success in your activity on behalf of peace. This activity requires persistence and the ability to conduct affairs in an honorable fashion. Peace fighters possess all these attributes. The "Peace Wave" also shows this.

P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, took part in the meeting.

Dardykin Writes on United Nations Day

PM301243 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by S. Dardykin: "The United Nations and Our Future. 24 October is United Nations Day and the Start of the Week of Action for Disarmament"]

[Text] It is probably the first time United Nations Day—celebrated annually on the anniversary of the UN Charter's entry into force—will take place at a moment so in keeping with the aims for which it was set up—for a secure world. The two great powers, on whose relations and intentions so much in world politics depends, and, together with them, the whole of mankind have come right to the threshold where the road to nuclear disarmament could start. Now that this first goal is close at hand and realistic and now that there is an accord in principle on eliminating two entire classes of Soviet and U.S. nuclear armaments, and only the details remain to be agreed on, it is very clear how long and difficult the advance to this threshold has been. Even now there are many in the United States, and not just private individuals, but people whose jobs make them directly involved in political decision-making, who obviously regard the forthcoming agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles as a concession on their part.

Some of them console themselves by saying that "from a purely military viewpoint" the agreement benefits the United States more than the USSR. In purely mathematical terms that is, perhaps, correct—we will have to eliminate more missiles than the Americans; but it suggests the idea that disarmament interests the latter "from a purely military viewpoint," and they are still seeking one-sided advantages in it.

Others are still manning the barricades. "We must not allow the tantalizing proximity of an agreement to obscure the need for toughness... NATO must continue measures to activate and improve the arsenal of conventional arms... We must make it clear to the Soviets that we will not hold talks on paralyzing restrictions on our

research in the sphere of antimissile systems..." writes Ed Rowny, special adviser to the President on arms control, in *The New York Times*, quick to present a claim for "compliance" on the question of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles.

All this deserves to be mentioned not in order to continue what the past has shown to be an unproductive exchange of mutual reproaches, but to clearly show how difficult, judging by the start, the path to a nuclear-free world is going to be. One example by way of illustration. For all the political and psychological significance of the upcoming agreement as a turning point, the missiles destined for elimination are no more than a few percent of the sides' nuclear arsenals. The reduction of strategic offensive armaments remains the key issue. How many unpredictable and unforeseen problems are going to crop up on that path? How does one ensure effective monitoring of the observance of accords and the sides' equal security at each stage of nuclear disarmament and on its completion? What will the future mechanism for maintaining peace at sharply reduced levels of nonnuclear armaments comprise? Finally, if the contradictions between two powers embarking on the disarmament path are so difficult to resolve, how is one going to take into account and balance the interests of all states and peoples, big and small, rich and poor, capitalist, socialist, and those which have not yet chosen their path? How does one guarantee them equal security and development conditions now and, most important of all, in the future? It is clear that the world needs a mechanism capable of taking on all these problems. In our country's view, the United Nations could be that mechanism.

The Soviet proposals—to enhance and strengthen the UN role in the modern world—are well-known. They are set out in M.S. Gorbachev's article and they were confirmed and supplemented by some new ones at the present General Assembly session. They all form part of the idea of an all-embracing system of international security. In accordance with this idea, they embrace the economic, humanitarian, and other spheres, as well as the military political sphere, that is, all the spheres where states' interests currently clash, where conflict situations are arising today, although these spheres could become in the very near future an arena for international cooperation in solving the chronic and emerging problems of mankind.

The reaction to the Soviet proposals is well-known too. There was a positive response to the initiatives by the participants of the 42d General Assembly session and they are still being keenly discussed by broad public circles and in the world press. Amid the diversity of comment, an article published three days ago in Britain's *Financial Times* deserves a mention. "Moscow," the paper writes, "is putting its money where its mouth is." The use of an old phrase from the political lexicon was occasioned not only by the fact that the *Financial Times* reflects the views of big business, which, when weighing politicians' words and deeds, is accustomed to putting cash on the other side of the scales. It has a most literal meaning. The place of the United Nations in the life of the world community requires an all-round strengthening of its authority and financial status. Recognizing this, the Soviet Union has not only paid all its dues for 1987, but has also made a voluntary contribution of $10 million to a special account set up to surmount the financial difficulties. Moreover, as was announced at a press conference the other day by the Soviet delegation in New York, the USSR Government has decided to pay its debt to the UN regular budget and is also prepared to consider participating in the elimination of the UN armed forces' budget deficit. All this is being done, the British paper comments, "at a time when Congress is refusing to pay U.S. dues."

The all-embracing system of international security proposed by the socialist countries can only be effective insofar as the United Nations is to function as a regulator of international relations in a nonnuclear age. The United Nations as the indispensable instrument of dialogue and mutual understanding, the United Nations as guarantor of world law and order. This is the role our country envisages for the United Nations in tomorrow's world in which the mental inertia and the inertia of weapons stockpiling and confrontation have given way to trust, cooperation, and justice.

Academecians Discuss Restructuring With Media

Sakharov's Role Questioned

PM301725 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Oct 87 p 6 Morning Edition p 6

[A. Kuvshinnikov and A. Cherepanov report: "Science: Main Achievements of the Year"]

[Excerpts] The press center for the 70th anniversary of Great October has been working for 4 days now in Moscow. Well-known Soviet politicians, scientists, and writers are coming here to share their ideas with journalists and answer their questions. The latest press conference, in which Academicians Yevgeniy Velikhov, Vitaliy Goldanskiy, Guriy Marchuk, and Roald Sagdeyev took part, was devoted to the topic of "Soviet Science Under the Conditions of Restructuring." [passage omitted]

A journalist from the GDR asked Academician Goldanskiy whether the nuclear charges contained in medium-range and operational-tactical missile warheads could be used for peaceful purposes. The reply was in the affirmative. Although the nuclear charges in the warheads of this type of missile represent an insignificant percentage of the total number of nuclear missiles, the uranium-235 and plutonium in the warheads could "run" the world's entire nuclear power system for 2-3 years—and the total capacity of the world's AES's, as is well known, is now 400 million kilowatts. If new types of reactors were used, the "released" nuclear fuel would be enough for 20-30 years.

An NBC journalist asked Academician Velikhov about Academician Sakharov's role in restructuring and what he is currently working on. Answering this question, Ye. Velikhov said in particular that Academician Sakharov has shown an interest in a number of scientific questions: elementary particle physics, controlled thermonuclear fusion, and arms control questions. He has repeatedly participated in various international forums on verification. We have met several times within the framework of sessions of the Committee of Soviet Scientists against the Nuclear Threat and discussed these problems. Just 3 days ago A. Sakharov participated along with Academicians Goldanskiy and Sagdeyev in the annual meeting between Soviet and U.S. scientists in Vilnius, where problems of mutual security and arms control were discussed. So he is working actively in this sphere. He is also conducting fruitful activity in the sphere of controlled thermonuclear fusion. Academician Sakharov does his direct work at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Physics Institute. [passage omitted]

The journalists present were interested by a reference to work on the AIDS problem. A *The New York Times* correspondent inquired: Academician Petrov has shown that the AIDS virus exists in nature. In this regard how do you assess certain articles in the Soviet press stating that the virus was artificially cultivated at secret U.S. military bases?

R. Sagdeyev answered. No serious scientists have even hinted at this in their statements and articles, he stressed. The USSR Academy of Sciences has nothing to do with such a story. V. Goldanskiy: I would add that I personally have always protested against the publication of irresponsible reports.

Address Arms Race, SDI

LD301059 Moscow TASS in English 1821 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—By proposing cuts in nuclear armaments and the prevention of an arms race in outer space, the USSR does not seek unilateral superiority, Soviet Academicians Yevgeniy Velikhov and Roald Sagdeyev said in the Press Centre for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution here today.

"The recent studies by Soviet and American scientists showed," Velikhov said, "that there are technical means for reliable registration of blasts with a yield of only one ton at a distance of several thousand kilometres. In other words, a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, once concluded, could be reliably verified."

Velikhov rejected Western mass media claims that the Soviet Union possessed two laser installations, specifically in the Dushanbe region, capable of intercepting ballistic missiles and destroying enemy satellites.

"The USSR has no such installations. In Dushanbe, for instance, there is a low-powered unit to track satellites and measure their parameters. I can say with absolute confidence that such installations cannot in principle be used for hitting satellites," he emphasized.

On the question of the Krasnoyarsk radar construction, the scientist observed that the radar could not be used in anti-missile defence and strategic missile management. "Despite this fact, the Soviet Union, wishing to demonstrate its interest in preserving the 1972 ABM Treaty, permitted American experts to visit the Krasnoyarsk radar and proposed freezing the construction of the Soviet and of similar American radars in Greenland and Britain."

Replying to a question about alleged attempts by the Soviet Union to buy through third parties computer programmes for the Soviet Strategic Defence Initiative, Academician Sagdeyev said, in part: "Soviet scientists have concluded after thorough analysis that SDI is an extremely destabilizing idea. It is, therefore, out of the question that the Soviet Union should be buying SDI-related means."

United States & Canada

Further on Shevardnadze Visit, Arms Talks

Talks With Shultz Begin

LD301525 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Washington October 30 TASS—Talks opened here today between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, and George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state. They center on key issues of Soviet-U.S. relations.

Before the meeting at the State Department the Soviet foreign minister described "as a good sign" the continuation of Soviet-U.S. talks in Washington. It means that work is kept going and this promises results, he said.

Foreign Ministry Meeting

LD301614 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 30 TASS—Soviet-American consultations on questions of foreign policy planning were held at the USSR Foreign Ministry. The group of representatives of the U.S. Department of State was led by Director of the Policy Planning Staff Richard Solomon. The group of representatives of the USSR Foreign Ministry was headed by member of the Collegium, Chief of the Evaluation and Planning Directorate Lev Mendelevich.

Useful businesslike exchange of opinion on a wide range of questions, connected with long-range prospects for the development of the world situation, specifically Soviet-American relations, was held during the consultations. Much attention was paid to problems of international security in every area, on a global and regional scale.

Richard Solomon had conversations with USSR Deputy Foreign Ministers Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, Vladimir Petrovskiy, and Igor Rogachev.

The American representatives also had meetings with Soviet scientists dealing with international problems.

Delivers Gorbachev Note

LD301908 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1900 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Washington, 30 Oct (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, met U.S. President Ronald Reagan in the White House today.

Eduard Shevardnadze handed the U.S. President a personal message from Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. Before the meeting began, the President said that there is progress being made. Eduard Shevardnadze noted that prospects are good.

Summit Scheduled 7 Dec

PM311455 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Oct 1987 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Joint Announcement"]

[Text] Washington, 30 Oct, TASS—As an evolution of the progress in Soviet-U.S. relations, including the results of the high-level exchanges of opinions and discussions between E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, and G. Shultz, U.S. secretary of state in Washington 30 October this year, as well as the Soviet-U.S. talks in Moscow, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan have agreed to hold a meeting in the United States beginning on 7 December 1987.

The CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and the U.S. President attach exceptional importance to the substantive conduct of the new meeting, which will embrace the whole set of matters pertaining to relations between the two countries—arms reduction, human rights and humanitarian issues, the settlement of regional conflicts, and problems of bilateral relations—and which will secure considerable progress on the whole spectrum of these issues.

The sides agreed on a plan of action for further developing the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, including the following. They have reached an agreement to complete shortly the coordination of a treaty on the total elimination of U.S. and USSR medium- and shorter-range missiles.

During their meeting in the United States, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the U.S. President, in addition to examining the whole range of matters on Soviet-U.S. relations, will sign a treaty on the total elimination of U.S. and USSR medium- and shorter-range missiles. They will determine an agenda for future contacts between the leaders of the two countries and will examine in an all-round way the issue of drafting instructions for their delegations regarding a future treaty on a 50% reduction in U.S. and Soviet strategic offensive arms and an accord on observing the treaty on limiting antimissile defense systems and not violating it during an agreed on period.

The CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and the U.S. President envisage meeting subsequently in the Soviet Union. At that meeting they will also endeavor to achieve progress on the whole spectrum of Soviet-U.S. relations. To that end, the sides will work toward the

early drafting of a treaty to implement the accord on a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms. That treaty could be signed during the U.S. President's visit to Moscow.

USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz will closely coordinate their actions to ensure that the forthcoming summit meeting in Washington is thoroughly and efficiently prepared.

Reagan Statement on Summit

LD302116 Moscow TASS in English 2058 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Washington October 30 TASS—Upon completion of the meeting with USSR Minister for Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze in the White House on Friday, U.S. President Ronald Reagan made a statement for the press.

He made an announcement on the understanding reached to hold a new Soviet-American summit meeting in the United States beginning on December 7 this year. At that time we expect, he said, to sign an agreement on the elimination of medium-range and shorter-range missiles. As the President went on to say, the letter delivered by the Soviet foreign minister from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, sets forth his views on other arms reductions topics that should be discussed during the forthcoming meeting. "I am studying that letter carefully and it appears forthcoming and statesmanlike", Reagan said. The President said, "I am looking forward to welcoming Mr Gorbachev to Washington and to productive discussions with him".

Reagan Visit Announced

LD310030 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0005 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Washington, 31 October (TASS)—After completing talks on Friday with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, replied to questions from reporters who had gathered in the State Department.

Eduard Shevardnadze announced that the agenda and the content of the summit meeting beginning on 7 December between Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and President Ronald Reagan in Washington had been determined. "This is a most important question, the Soviet minister stressed. We have found, and this, too, is very important," he continued, "an appropriate formula for preserving the ABM Treaty. And, lastly, we have fixed a further schedule of future meetings, including an agreement with the President about his visit to the Soviet Union. We have agreed on the documents and the agreements with which this visit will end."

The USSR foreign minister noted that there are still divisions over the observance of the ABM Treaty. "In principle," he said, "we have reached an agreement on ABM. There are differences over [observance] periods." The Soviet minister noted that the U.S. side is insisting on a 7-year observance period of the ABM Treaty, while the Soviet side wants a 10-year period. "This is a subject that requires serious discussion," stressed Eduard Shevardnadze.

Shevardnadze News Conference

PM012025 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 1987 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Results of the Talks in Washington"]

[Text] Washington, 31 Oct—The working visit to Washington by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, has ended. On Friday he held talks with U.S. President R. Reagan and Secretary of State G. Shultz. At the meeting in the White House E.A. Shevardnadze handed to President R. Reagan a message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. A Soviet-U.S. joint announcment has been published on the results of the talks concerning an accord that has been reached to hold a summit meeting in the United States between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan beginning 7 December.

Summing up the results of the talks at a news conference in the USSR Embassy, E.A. Shevardnadze stated:

We arrived here from Prague, where a very interesting and substantive session of the Warsaw Pact countries' Foreign Ministers Committee had taken place at which important issues were discussed. I have come with a mandate not just from the Soviet leadership and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, but also with a mandate from our friends and allies.

Certainly, Soviet-U.S. relations remain complex, difficult and contradictory, but something else must also be said: Much has been changing of late, and changing for the better, following talks and following the summit meetings in Geneva and Reykjavik.

We appraise today's talks and today's meetings as productive and as an outstanding event in international life. This is a logical continuation of the process that has its origins in Geneva and Reykjavik. I believe that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's definition was quite right, that an intellectual breakthrough was achieved in Reykjavik on some most important fronts of our times.

The accords which were reached today at the meeting with President Reagan, when I passed on a special message from the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and that with the secretary of state, were preceded by very important, major political actions such

as, for example, the secretary of state's meetings and talks with the Soviet leadership in April this year, and the September talks in Washington at which accord in principle was reached on eliminating two classes of nuclear weapons—medium- and shorter-range. Also there were the Moscow talks between the secretary of state and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet foreign minister, which we also view as productive and useful. Today's accords have not come from nowhere. They are a logical culmination of a whole process which, as I have already said, begins with Geneva and Reykjavik.

I have no doubt that all people of goodwill welcome the decision, the accord on a meeting in Washington between the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President Reagan, and correspondingly on a reply visit by the President to the Soviet Union in the first half of next year. This event is definitely of tremendous significance for international affairs.

It is very important that at the present stage, at the talks in Washington both with President Reagan and with the secretary of state, we have basically set the agenda both for the Washington summit meeting and for subsequent contacts. This is of tremendous fundamental importance.

You already know—it is stated in our agreed joint announcement—that an agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles is to be signed in Washington. It is here, in essence, that the foundations are being laid for a future agreement on a 50%-percent reduction of offensive strategic arms while preserving the ABM Treaty for the agreed duration. Today we have agreed that we must begin literally this very day to develop a very great deal of preparatory work in order that the summit meeting should proceed at a high level and with maximum efficiency. An appropriate working mechanism for preparing these major actions has been determined. I do not rule out the need for contacts at various levels. I have in mind the level of experts, meetings between specialists and maybe even meetings between the foreign ministers. So we are faced with a most enormous, or to be frank, gigantic piece of work. It turns out that there is no doubt about the conclusion and signing of an agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles. This work can be completed over a short period of time. That is what we determined at the talks today. There are very good prospects of concluding an agreement with the present U.S. Administration on a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive arms. It is this which is the key problem of our time.

There are also certain other—I would like to mention this—positive trends in Soviet-U.S. relations. In Moscow this spring the secretary of state and I signed an agreement on peaceful cooperation in space. This involves good programs—almost 16 major programs. In Washington in September we signed an agreement on organizing centers for reducing nuclear danger. The decision was made—and this has already been announced—to begin broad-format negotiations on nuclear explosions. All these agreements and accords are also an indicator of the positive trends in Soviet-U.S. relations, although I stress that there are still many difficult issues which will still require from us a great deal of energy and great efforts to overcome them.

I can say that my colleagues, my delegation, as we say, are satisfied with the results of the Washington talks, inasmuch as agreement on a summit meeting has been reached at them. [In Moscow *Pravda* 1 November First Edition on page 4 the preceding sentence ends with "the Washington talks.". The First Edition item is otherwise identical to the Second Edition version.] They will indeed be of important significance for the construction of fundamentally new relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Without doubt they will have a positive influence on the general situation on our planet. I know that the question, who lost and who won, will come up. I want to forestall it. It is a crude question. Everybody has won, because nuclear arsenals will be eliminated—medium- and shorter-range missiles; and all the more so if we manage to attain an agreement on the elimination of large arsenals of strategic offensive arms. In that way all the peoples populating our planet will win.

Then E.A. Shevardnadze replied to journalists' questions.

Question: The statement says that the question of observance of the ABM Treaty will be examined; are the sides agreed with regard to the interpretation of the ABM Treaty?

Answer: The question of interpretation was not discussed at the current talks. We think that the ABM Treaty should be observed in the form in which it was signed and ratified. Between ourselves and the U.S. Administration there are serious differences over the period of nonwithdrawal from the treaty. Altogether, the treaty is timeless—you know that. But as we are talking about commitments not to withdraw from the treaty, the United States is mentioning a 7-year period, while we are staying with the Reykjavik positions. A 10-year period for nonwithdrawal from the treaty was agreed in principle in Reykjavik. This is a problem which requires further discussion and coordination.

Question: Judging by what happened today, you evidently must be satisfied that the United States has made a concession—linking strategic offensive arms and the ABM Treaty? A previously secret CIA report was published recently which says that the Soviet Union is conducting work in the antimissile defense field, and it is not even talking about Krasnoyarsk. As the CIA maintains, you are close to the possibility of deploying a national system for the antimissile defense of the country's territory. Do you admit that this is so?

Answer: First, I do not feel that the United States has made any concessions. The ABM Treaty is our joint treaty. Let me remind you of President Reagan's statement that we must not allow this treaty to be eroded. He said that about a year ago. What concessions are we talking about? As for the question of so-called violations, of the Krasnoyarsk radar station and so on, you must be aware that on our own initiative a group of U.S. congressmen visited the site of this radar station. They inspected it. They photographed everything there, took notes of everything. I don't know what impression the gained, but if we'd built it in violation of the ABM Treaty, we'd have had no need to invite the representatives of another state. Another point—Comrade Gorbachev, at his Moscow talks with the secretary of state, put forward the proposal that the building of this station should be 'frozen' [zakonservirovat]—at the present stage that's for 12 months—if the same is done regarding the radar station that is being constructed in Scotland. As far as the work in progress in the Soviet Union is concerned, I don't think I will be revealing any great secret if I say that if the United States carries out its SDI program, the Soviet Union will certainly react in an appropriate manner. We will not necessarily reply in kind. Our reply may be asymetrical or less costly. This has been said more than once by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

Question: Do you deny that you are creating a strategic defense?

Answer: You know that we are creating the defense which the ABM Treaty permits. We are creatinbg such a defense. Neither more nor less.

Question: How is one to react to the fact that a week ago the Soviet side was apparently not ready but is now ready to hold a summit meeting?

You've been misinformed. I was present at the talks. A live witness stands before you. Comrade Gorbachev told the secretary of State—and I think Mr Shultz can confirm this—that he wanted to visit the United States, meet the President and discuss the problems which are of mutual interest. But in order to organize such a meeting we quite rightly and with good reason pointed out the need for a concept of the meeting, an agenda for the meeting. I think the fact that in this respect we have now made progress at the Washington talks and specified both the concept and the agenda of the meeting—that step forward and precisely that circumstance has resulted in the question being decided positively. The visit was agreed to in Geneva in 1985, and there are not surprises or unexpected elements present in today's decision.

Question: Was that decision not made earlier, before today's meeting? Is it not the case that the general secretary informed the President of it in his message?

Answer: In his message he set out, as I've already said, I repeat, his understanding of the concept of the meeting, and correspondingly a list of the matters that must be discussed at the summit meeting. The opinions of the U.S. Administration and of the Soviet leadership corresponded as regards the concept and as regards the agenda.

Question: You talked about your hopes for a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms. Today, President Reagan said that the United States is 100% full of resolve to implement the SDI program. In your opinion, are reductions in strategic offensive arms possible if the United States refuses to limit the strategic defense program? [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1123 GMT on 31 October 1987 broadcasts a similar version of this report. However, the TASS item includes the following three paragraphs in their entirety. The *Pravda* version omits the next two paragraphs, and picks up at the sentence "For us the fundamental question..."]

Answer: You know, we are talking about a 50 percent reduction and about obligations not to withdraw from the treaty during an agreed time. That is the main dialectic.

Question: There were two important facts at Reagan's press conference today. First, in his statement, Reagan did not mention SDI at all. Second, CBS correspondent Bill Plante asked him whether the administration is flexible regarding the stages of the development [razvertyvaniye] of SDI and whether that may help an agreement to be reached on a 50 percent reduction in strategic arms. President Reagan said "yes." Do you acknowledge that there is such flexibility? Do you attach significance to that fact?

Answer: You know, I would address that question to President Reagan and the secretary of state. I stress once again: [Here *Pravda* resumes] For us the fundamental question is a 50 percent reduction and the obligation about nonwithdrawal from the ABM Treaty during a fixed period. We are saying a 10-year period. The other side is naming a 7-year period. Of course, we think it is necessary at least as a minimum to secure observance of the ABM Treaty for 10 years. That is our main principle.

Question: I still don't understand if agreement exists between the USSR and the United States regarding interpretation of the ABM Treaty. The administration claims that tests in accordance with the "Star Wars" program are possible according to the ABM Treaty. Are there difficulties here or disagreements?

Answer: I assume that discussions will be continued on the interpretation of the treaty. We think—this is the Soviet position: the treaty must be observed and preserved in the form in which it was signed and ratified.

Question: What does that mean in concrete terms?

Answer: That means that the treaty must be observed and systems which are banned by the treaty must not be developed [sozdavat]. The Americans and everybody else understand that.

Question: Does that include "Star Wars?"

Answer: To be frank, I am not sure that the SDI program is a realistic program. I am not a specialist in that area, but I have contacts with my friends, colleagues, scientists. Very many major scientists and specialists are expressing serious doubts as regards the practicability of that program. [The TASS version carries this next sentence; the *Pravda* item omits it, and picks up with "But it is a..."] I spoke at the UN General Assembly session and even quoted Academician Sakharov—a very major specialist in that area. Sakharov considers the program to be unpromising. [Here *Pravda* resumes] But it is a U.S. program. It is not our program. For us, the most important thing is observance of the ABM Treaty. It is that which is the foundation of strategic stability under the conditions of a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons, that is the chief guarantee of strategic stability. [The *Pravda* version omits the next eight paragraphs, picking up with "Question: When you were..."]

Question: Did you receive assurances from the U.S. side to the effect that a treaty on medium-range missiles and in particular a treaty on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons will be presented in good time to the Senate and will be ratified during the Reagan administration? Or did they not give such assurances?

Answer: We repeatedly asked this question because we have bitter experience. For example, the SALT II Treaty was simply not ratified, and this is not the only occasion. But I believe that at present no one from the administration can give a complete guarantee that a treaty will be ratified. I stress: a complete guarantee. We have had contacts with senators, congressmen, and specialists. Unless I am mistaken, the array of forces now appears such that a treaty will be ratified. Although there may be changes. It is difficult to say.

Question: In the event of the ratification of these agreements, will it be possible to speak of the start of a new period of detente, of a new era in Soviet-U.S. relations?

Answer: I have already expressed a view on this score. Yes, if these treaties are ratified, then to a significant degree this will be a new stage, a most important stage, and not only in Soviet-U.S. relations. This is a very important trend reflecting, in a certain sense, a warming in the international atmosphere.

Question: President Reagan was today stressing the importance of verification measures [mery Kontrolya]. Do you see any problems in this sphere?

Answer: Very many problems. At present we are overcoming problems linked with the elimination of two classes of missiles—of medium- and shorter-range [words indistinct] we are at the concluding stage. However, questions linked to verification [kontrol] will be much greater and more complicated, when the question of a 50 percent reduction in strategic weapons is really placed on the agenda. This is a more complex question. For this reason, we have today reached agreement in principle with the secretary of state, at this stage to bring to the fore precisely the questions of verification of the organization of verification, and the examination of all this subject matter.

Question: President Reagan has invited Gorbachev to undertake a wide trip through the United States. Today it was given to understand that this will not take place. How long does Gorbachev plan to stay in the United States? Does he intend to travel anywhere apart from Washington, and what are the reasons for his coming on a short visit?

Answer: The reasons are elementary. First, what lies ahead is not a short visit. Two or three days for businesslike talks is quite a lot. Comrade Gorbachev has a great desire to travel through the United States, to visit many sites and states and to meet the American people. But he has a very heavy and complex schedule. In practical terms it can't be done. That is the only reason.

[Here the *Pravda* version resumes] Question: When you were here in September you spoke of the possibility of a compromise on SDI in two areas. The first was the adoption of restrictions on testing and development [sozdaniye] of systems, and the second was an accord on adherence to the ABM Treaty. Have you given up attempts to restrict testing and work in the framework of SDI?

Answer: Maybe there is something that I did not put too well, or maybe there is something you did not understand. I never spoke of a compromise regarding SDI. The matter concerned something else. It concerned us and the Americans coming to agreement and defining a list of the devices that would be banned from being put into space. Accordingly defining, and we have already passed these proposals to the Americans, defining the parameters and characteristics of those devices. Anything below those characteristics and parameters would not be banned. That is what I was talking about. That is what I reaffirmed at the talks today. [The *Pravda* version omits the following four paragraphs, picking up at "Question: Do you..."].

Question: Would you like Gorbachev to speak in Congress, and does he intend to visit the United Nations in New York?

Answer: I will say straightaway that it will not be possible to visit New York this time. As far as meeting Congress is concerned, the program is currently being drafted. I do not rule out the possibility of such a meeting. So far we do not have the program.

Question: The statement contains some formulations from which one can draw the conclusion that when the 50 percent agreement and observance of the ABM Treaty are to be discussed when Reagan travels to the USSR, he will be signing an agreement on strategic offensive weapons, but the ABM Treaty is not mentioned. Is it intended that the Soviet Union is prepared to sign an agreement just on strategic offensive weapons without any accord on ABM?

Answer: I believe the ABM Treaty is mentioned in one place. It is spoken of very precisely and clearly. That provision will be in effect when the treaty on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons is signed.

[Here *Pravda* resumes] Question: Do you take it as a promise that agreements on the 50 percent cut and observance of the ABM Treaty are a condition for Reagan's visit to the Soviet Union, or could a visit take place even without this?

Answer: We must prepare the ground for a substantive visit. As we understand it, and the U.S. Administration agrees with this, the chief result of this visit could be the signing of an agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons. I have already said that such a prospect exists, and use must be made of this. I do not think I will be giving away any particular secret if I say that the President today spoke about there being a unique chance to conclude such an agreement. I agree with him, it is indeed a unique chance.

Question: You said that today you have confirmed the Soviet proposal on the list of devices. Has the United States given you to understand that it is ready to conduct negotiations on this subject? [The *Pravda* version omits the following six paragraphs and then two more sentences, picking up at "Answer: To be frank and honest..."]

Answer: This question is being discussed at the Geneva negotiations. These are fairly difficult categories, namely the listing of these parameters and specifications. They are on something like the level of higher mathematics. All these questions must therefore be discussed at expert level at the Geneva talks.

Question: But is the United States conducting negotiations on that?

Answer: In principle, this question is on the agenda and is being discussed.

Question: Will President Reagan's visit to Moscow for the signing of the treaty on strategic offensive weapons and on the 50 percent reduction also be a visit during which an accord will be signed on continued observance of the ABM Treaty?

Answer: I believe that I have already answered this question.

Question: A question in the spirit of glasnost. You are a member of the Politburo. Can you explain how you understand the reports from Moscow regarding a split, differences? Is that something that you have always had and it is only coming to the surface now? Or is something happening in your country?

Answer: No split had occurred before I left. I cannot say what happened after that. To come to the point, [Here the *Pravda* version resumes] to be frank and honest about it, there has probably never been such cohesion and such unity in the Soviet leadership, which are based on a Leninist style and founded on the principles of comradeship, and we are proud of that. We believe that this type of atmosphere in the Soviet leadership, and indeed throughout the entire party, an atmosphere of creativity, of joint responsibility, of collectiveness, of a respectful attitude toward one another is a very great gain. Do differences of opinion occur in our party with regard to individual problems, even the fundamental problems of modern times, including questions of restructuring, perfecting society, renewal of socialism, perfecting socialism, and so forth? Naturally there are different opinions, and differing views are expressed. Among them, very many of these views are printed in our press, but that is a completely natural phenomenon. It reflects the process of democratization in Soviet society. That is how I can answer your question. [The *Pravda* version includes the following two paragraphs, omitted by the TASS report]

E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, left Washington for home the same day.

At the airfield in Moscow E.A. Shevardnadze was greeted by V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR KGB, and other officials.

'Spokesman' Interviewed

LD311308 Paris Domestic Service in French 1200 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Excerpts] The Reagan-Gorbachev tete-a-tete meeting will take place on 7 Decmeber in Washington. It will be the third meeting between the two leaders. At the center of their talks will be the signing of an agreement on the dismantling of medium-range missiles. [passage omitted]

Moscow is very satisfied with the announcement of this new dialogue, during which many questions will be tackled. Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman (Aleksis Glukhov) expresses his feelings to our permanent correspondent in Moscow, Ulysee Gosset:

[Begin recording] [Glukhov, speaking in French] My first feeling is one of satisfaction because it is not only the wish of the leaders but also that of the Soviet people.

[Gosset] Do you think that on 7 December all the existing problems will be solved?

[Glukhov] All of them? I do not think so; it is first of all a question of being able to sign an agreement on medium-range missiles, and this is very important. It is also a question of making progress in the field of strategic missiles and also of taking steps toward an agreement on the issue of space defense.

[Gosset] If the summit is taking place so soon, is it not also because Euromissiles as well as strategic arms will be discussed?

[Glukhov] Certainly, certainly. As I have already stated, the issue of strategic missiles is perhaps even more important than that of medium-range missiles. It is also a question of making progress in Washington during the Reagan-Gorbachev summit on this issue. [end recording]

Shultz Cited on Results

LD311023 Moscow TASS in English 1002 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Washington October 31 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, speaking at a press conference on the results of his negotiations with Foreign minister of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze, has said: "In the arms control area, obviously we are pushing hard on INF. We've had some further discussion of particular issues here".

"On strategic arms", George Shultz said, "if we work at it hard, we can keep moving the ball forward in the strategic arms area, and we want to see the summit meeting between the President and the general secretary be as useful as possible in helping negotiations toward completion of a strategic arms treaty to be signed in Moscow by the President sometime in the first half of next year".

The secretary of state underlined that during the visit of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to Washington the United States would "maximize the usefulness of the limited time available" to see to it that the visit be efficient.

Shultz Remarks Cited

LD311742 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Speaking at a news conference on the results of his talks with Shevardnadze, U.S. Secretary of State Shultz said that the proposals made by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on strategic weapons were discussed.

Shultz added: If we make persistent efforts, we will be able to make some headway in strategic weapons. We want the summit between the President and the general secretary to be as useful as possible so as to promote success in the talks on a strategic arms treaty that can be signed by the President in Moscow sometime in the first half of next year. Before that summit takes place, we are trying to do as much as possible to define the problems and narrow the differences so that when the general secretary and the President meet, they can achieve even greater mutual understanding which our delegations will then be able to take advantage of at their negotiations. In Reykjavik, and then to a certain extent later on, the secretary of state continued, some absolutely vital components of the treaty on strategic arms reductions were agreed to. After Reykjavik, we added a few components. Now we will have to set about working on the problems of verification [proverka].

The secretary of state stressed that the United States will try during the visit of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary to Washington to use the limited time available to the maximum advantage so that the visit is a fruitful one.

Reagan, Shultz Cited

PM311805 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Washington's Opinion"]

[Text] Washington, 31 Oct—After the meeting in the White House with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze, U.S. President R. Reagan declared: "I am very pleased with the results of my discussions today. I am counting on, and I am impatiently awaiting, the opportunity to welcome Mr Gorbachev to Washington and also for productive talks with him." During his stay in the United States, R. Reagan observed, we are counting on signing an agreement on the elimination of a whole class of U.S. and Soviet medium-range nuclear weapons. As the President went on to say, he "is carefully studying" the message from the CPSU Central Committee general secretary which "gives the impression of a frank [otkrovennyy] and constructive message full of statesmanlike wisdom."

"We also discussed recent events at other talks too," the U.S. President continued, "and I stress the importance which I attach to reaching an agreement on a 50%

reduction of strategic offensive arms. We have agreed to try to conduct work on drafting such an agreement which I hope to sign during a visit to Moscow next year."

To a question about the possibility of a change in the U.S. stance on SDI, Reagan replied that we "can in no way abandon SDI." In answer to a question about the possibility of "flexibility regarding the time schedule for SDI deployment" he said that "this will be one of the questions submitted for discussion."

U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz said at a press conference on the results of his negotiations with E.A. Shevardnadze that, in the sphere of strategic arms, M.S. Gorbachev's proposals in this area had been discussed at the talks. G. Shultz went on to say that "if we make dogged efforts, we will be able to move forward in the field of strategic arms and we want the summit meeting between the President and the general secretary to be as useful as possible, promoting the success of the talks on the completion of the elaboration of a treaty on strategic arms which would be signed by the President in Moscow some time in the first half of next year. We are trying above all to do as much as possible prior to that summit meeting's taking place, to define the problems and narrow the disagreements so that when the general secretary and the President meet, they will be able to achieve additional mutual understanding which our delegations will then be able to utilize at their talks." [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 November 1987 Second Edition on page four carries this same report, but deletes these next three sentences, picking up with "The secretary of state..."] Certain absolutely essential components of a treaty on the reduction of strategic arms, the secretary of state continued, were agreed in essence at Reykjavik and then to some degree later. After Reykjavik we added certain components. Now we must get down to work on the problem of monitoring [proverka].

The secretary of state stressed that the United States will try during the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's visit to Washington "to make maximum use of the limited time available" in order that the visit may be fruitful.

Kulik Commentary

LD311629 Moscow TASS in English 1409 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—By TASS Political News Analyst Sergey Kulik:

Welcoming the agreement to hold a Soviet-American summit meeting, many political analysts come to the conclusion that this was a result of persistent and specific efforts by peace-loving forces and materialization of principles of new political thinking that is being established in international affairs.

The prospect of concluding a "double missile zero" accord between Moscow and Washington, now quite real, is exclusively useful in itself. It would be invaluable should the treaty that Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan are going to sign become a first step towards the radical renunciation of nuclear and space arms.

This idea permeates the communique of the recent meeting in Prague of the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers' Committee. Underlying this important document is recognition of interrelationship and interdependence of our complicated and diverse world.

Nurturing contradictions, dogmatism and cultivation of differences are simply dangerous in the nuclear age. It is only through concerted effort that it is possible to look for and find truly humane and universal solutions to world problems. For that, there is no need for all to be similar. But the search should be not against one another, but with one another.

It is crucially important today that the world undertake no actions that might complicate the conclusion of the accords to be sealed during the meeting in the U.S. beginning on December 7.

That is why the participants in the Prague meeting were worried by remarks by some Western representatives who called for "compensation" for the planned elimination of American missiles in Europe by deploying new nuclear and non-nuclear arms and divising new military structures.

The allied socialist countries represented at the meeting in the Czechoslovak capital proceed from the firm conviction that lasting peace and reliable security of all and everyone could be ensured only through political means.

That is why the Warsaw Treaty member countries attach principled importance to achieving maximum effectiveness of the entire existing system of disarmament talks.

Issues of curbing the nuclear arms race and achieving nuclear disarmament should be in the centre of talks on security and disarmament, both bilateral and multilateral.

It is necessary to step up the efforts by all nations to building a nuclear-free and non-violent world. The conference on disarmament in Geneva is to play a special role in these efforts.

The Prague meeting again put on the list of priorities the task of significantly reducing the armed forces and armaments in Europe. The committee issued a call for building a "common European home"—the indivisible Europe of peace and cooperation in which an atmosphere of goodneighbourhood and trust, co-existence and mutual understanding would be established.

Our similarity is above our differences—such is the suggested principle on the basis of which the search for the all-European future is to be conducted.

The international cropland to yield an abundant harvest needs deep ploughing. Surface ploughing, as the entire post-war period shows, can yield but temporary success and secure but limited progress.

Fundamental changes are required in the very structure of international relations. Their far-going, radical restructuring is required in the spirit of truly innovative thinking, in the spirit of universal human interests.

Zorin Commentary

LD010207 Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 31 Oct 87

["Moscow Viewpoint," by Valentin Zorin]

[Excerpts] A third Soviet-American summit is to start in the United States on 7 December. This was agreed upon during the brief visit to Washington by the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze. In the course of the visit, he passed on to President Reagan a message from th e Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev.

Shortly before that, both houses of Congress adopted legislation delaying funds for construction work on the deployment of American cruise missiles in Western Europe. When they passed this legislation the Senators and Congressmen followed this logic: Why earmark $87 million the administration requires to site the missiles if the Soviet-American treaty to eliminate these weapons on a mutual basis and by most reliable verification is to be signed soon? So the treaty begins to work even though it has not been concluded yet. [passage omitted on economic benefits from cuts in nuclear arsenals]

This shows what remarkable benefits could be secured by a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms and by preventing an arms race in space, which is being discussed at Soviet-American negotiations. That would benefit the Americans and the Soviet people, too. Of course the talks aim mainly at eliminating the nuclear threat. The stockpiles would be sufficient to destroy all living [things] on earth many times over. Common sense indicates that the arsenals are absolutely unnecessary and dangerous, for even the use of only a small part of them would mean humanity's self destruction.

But the economic aspect of disarmament is no less important. If agreements similar to the one on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range weapons continue to be signed, the Soviet and American citizens and people elsewhere will become much better off.

U.S. Reaction Reported

PM021121 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Initial Response"]

[Text] Washington, 31 Oct—The word "history" in all its variations was used on the banks of the Potomac virtually throughout the day of 30 October. The word appeared in the headlines of news bulletins in America immediately after it was announced in the White House Rose Garden and then at press conferences in the presidential residence, the Department of State, and the USSR Embassy that it has been agreed to hold a meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President R. Reagan in the United States.

"History is being made before our eyes"; "The two great powers are ready to sign a historic treaty"; "Washington will be the venue for a historic event"—such was the immediate response by U.S. radio and television companies to the results of the talks held here by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze.

The two sides took a very important step which really makes it possible to speak of creating the material base for the new political thinking. Only a first step, of course, which urgently needs further confirmation and development. But nevertheless a step which can only be welcomed by people of good will.

We would like the summit meeting between the general secretary and the President to be as useful as possible and to assist the talks aimed at completing the preparation of a treaty on strategic arms so that it could be signed by the President in Moscow in the first half of next year, Secretary of State Shultz declared at his press conference.

The administration's public pledges sound encouraging, making it possible to hope for a change for the better in relations between the USSR and the United States, which remain complex, difficult, and contradictory. Despite the clear favorable shifts, the Reagan administration continues to dodge crucial questions of our time, but the realities of our time are also influencing Washington. In this context, it is worth noting the response by WSA-TV, which pointed out: "In his statements the President suggested flexibility on various questions, even on the SDI program."

No U.S. political observer has any doubts that the "Star Wars" program is the main stumbling block along the path to unprecedented agreements in the sphere of arms control. This is because, as the Soviet side has pointed out, rigorous observance of the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed and ratified can

provide the sole foundation of strategic stability in the conditions of the 50% reduction of both sides' strategic arms now under discussion.

No one is ignoring the existence of serious divergences between the USSR and U.S. stances or the truly gigantic volume of work that still remains to be done in order to vindicate the hopes of people who are tired of the arms race madness and the permanent threat of a nuclear inferno. Initial reactions on Capitol Hill make it possible to speak of a hope that the legislators will realize their historic duty. R. Dole, leader of the Republicans in the Senate, congratulated the leaders of the two countries on the accord to hold the meeting and to sign a treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles. He described the accord that is in preparation as "a step in the right direction." An identical stance was taken by S. Nunn, chairman of the influential Senate Armed Services Committee. On the whole, AP emphasizes, "reaction on Capitol Hill is positive." The majority of legislators lay special emphasis on questions of verifying the observance of the provisions of the medium- and shorter-range missiles treaty. This is the standard anti-Soviet emphasis, since everyone has known for a long time that it is the U.S. side that refuses to accept the USSR proposals on full and exhaustive monitoring measures.

Be that as it may, E.A. Shevardnadze's talks in Washington ended on a positive note, causing satisfaction to both sides and the local public. Clearly everyone would like to hope that, being the mentor of life, history will yet lead the USSR and the United States onto the straight path in matters of disarmament and peace.

China

Further Reportage on 13th CPC Congress

Agriculture Problems Discussed

LD010020 Moscow TASS in English 1552 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Beijing October 30 TASS—TASS correspondents Grigoriy Arslanov and Vyacheslav Tomilin report:

At the 13th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in session here the delegates discuss the problems and prospects for the development of China's countryside. Speeches show that there are problems galore in this field and they call for solution.

Agriculture is the basis of China's national economy. However, far from all understand this, it would seem, commonly known truth, stress speakers in debates on the report of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. Hence, tardiness and errors in dealing with some or other matters. Although the situation in the economy and agriculture is on the whole favourable, a slowdown in the grain production rates in recent years calls attention. This has generated serious problems for the Chinese economy in general. For this reason the quest for ways to achieve a balanced and stable agricultural production growth is an exceptionally important and complex task, said Tian Jiyun, vice-premier of China's State Council.

Those who took the floor at the congress also spoke about an exorbitant rise in prices for the means of production and chemical fertilizers, which brings about a surge in the cost of output, is a heavy burden for peasants and negatively affects their vigour. In this connection, the delegates emphasize an imperative need to tighten control over prices and ensure their stability.

Representatives of army party organisations, whose delegation was the most representative one at the congress, also called upon the country's leadership to take measures to impose reasonable restrictions on the scopes of consumption and stem the price rises which cause the people's discontent.

Participants in the congress draw attention to the importance of strengthening the country's scientific and technical potential, upgrading the national education system and limiting the population growth rates. It is only along these lines that a programme outlined in the report of the party Central Committee can be carried through, delegates believe.

A regular session of the Presidium of the 13th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was held today. The session approved the Congress' draft resolutions on the report of the party Central Committee, on changes in some articles of the party rules, on the reports of the work of the Central Commission of the party advisers and the Party Central Discipline Supervision Commission. The Presidium decided to submit the afore-mentioned documents for the consideration and endorsement of the congress.

The Presidium also approved the lists of nominees for election as members and alternate members of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and members of Central commissions, which were compiled already with account of the outcome of the tenative vote and discussion by the delegates to the congress.

Session Ends 1 Nov

LD010538 Moscow TASS in English 0533 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Text] Beijing November 1 TASS—The 13th Congress of the Communist Party of China ended at the House of People's Assembly in Beijing today. The congress elected the new make-ups of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), the CPC Central Advisory Commission and the CPC Central Committee on Discipline. The delegates, representing 46 million Chinese Communists, passed resolutions on the report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of

China, the report of the Central Advisory Commission of the CPC and the CPC Central Commission on Discipline, on draft amendments to some articles of the party's rules.

Personnel Changes Announced

PM021457 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[Report by PRAVDA special correspondent B. Barakhta and TASS special correspondents A. Krushinskiy and G. Arslanov: "The 13th CPC Congress Ends"]

[Text] Beijing, 1 Nov—On the first morning of November, the Chinese capital took on an unusually wintry look for the time of year. The roofs of houses and the sidewalks were white. Snow covered lawns and the crowns of willows, poplars, and acacias which were not yet yellow. Despite the bad weather, many Beijing residents had hastened to the House of People's Assemblies in Tiananmen Square where the final session of the 13th CPC Congress was taking place.

The presidium contained well-known figures from the Chinese revolution, leaders of the Communist Party and the PRC. Comrade Zhao Ziyang, in the chair, declared the final plenary session of the 13th CPC Congress open. Loudspeakers carried the voice of an announcer reading out the draft resolution on the Central Committee accountability report.

The document notes that over the years since the last congress, the Chinese people have achieved considerable successes in all areas of socialist building.

The course worked out by the congress is seen by the document as an important theoretical contribution to the building of a specifically Chinese socialism. A new chapter has opened in the life of the party. At the same time, the resolution notes, there are still many difficulties and problems in creating a new life. A long and difficult path to the future lies ahead.

At the initial stage of the building of socialism, the document says, the CPC sees as its chief task the leading of the entire country's people in the struggle to build a flourishing modern socialist power with a high level of democracy and culture. Chinese Communists will continue restructuring the economy, now combining with it a reform of the political structure. The congress urges all party members and the entire Chinese people to unite even more closely around the CPC and put everything into implementing tasks outlined by the supreme party forum.

The chairman put the resolution to the vote. All delegates voted in favor. There followed the unanimous adoption of a further three 13th Congress resolutions: On the accountability report of the Central Advisory Commission, on the accountability report of the CPC Central Discipline Inspection Commission, and on draft amendments to the party Statutes. The changes in the CPC Statutes are basically geared to democratizing intraparty life in terms of the socioeconomic and political restructuring taking place in the country.

At the final congress session, delegates elected by secret ballot 175 members and 110 candidate members of the CPC Central Committee, 13th convocation, and also 69 members of the CPC Central Discipline Inspection Commission.

In accordance with the congress line of rejuvenating the party leadership, the CPC Central Committee underwent substantial changes. Such well-known veterans as Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Peng Zhen, and others are not in it. The average age of full and candidate members of the CPC Central Committee, 13th convocation, is 55. This is 4 years lower than last time.

The final congress session also elected 200 CPC Central Advisory Commission members.

In a brief final word, Zhao Ziyang urged Chinese Communists to immediately start implementing tasks set by the supreme party forum. The congress ended.

The "Internationale" was sung.

Today, in the House of People's Assemblies, CPC spokesman Zhu Muzhi held a final press conference for foreign and Chinese journalists at the 13th CPC Congress. Answering numerous questions, he dwelt in particular on the process of demarcation of party and state bodies' functions. A great deal has yet to be done in this area, he said, the congress having provided only a basic outline of the course of restructuring the political structure. Answering Western correspondents' questions about Deng Xiaoping and other party veterans, the CPC spokesman said that their move to the "sidelines" in no way means total isolation from all party and state affairs. The CPC Central Committee, 13th convocation, will hold its first plenary session in Beijing tomorrow to discuss organizational matters.

Leadership 'Rejuvenated'

LD011042 Moscow TASS in English 1033 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Text] Beijing November 1 TASS—The list of full and candidate members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), which was published today after the last session of the 13th Congress of the CPC, demonstrates that the congress has achieved significant success with rejuvenating the party's leadership, a spokesman for the forum, Zhu Muzhi, told a news conference for foreign and Chinese correspondents here.

The average age of the members of the party's 12th Central Committee elected central committee is 55.2 years and the work to rejuvenate the leadership of the CPC will continue because it is a party line, he continued.

Answering questions from newsmen, he said the 13th Central Committee will hold its first plenary meeting tomorrow to elect its general secretary, political bureau and standing committee.

Many questions concerned the absence of Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Li Xiannian and Peng Zhen, leaders of the elder generation, on the list of the new Central Committee members. Zhu said Deng, even without holding senior posts in the party leadership, is a leader of the party and the state and the "main architect" of Chinese policy. Irrespective of whether he has official posts in the leadership of the CPC or not, he remains a party and state leader of China, Zhu added.

Election Results Reported

LD011841 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 1 Nov 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The 13th Congress of the Communist Party of China has ended in Beijing. Our special correspondent Vladimir Kulikov reports:

[Kulikov] The congress adopted decisions endorsing the party's course, set forth in Zhao Ziyang's review report, and confirmed the draft amendments to some CPC Constitution articles and other documents.

Elections to the party's leading organs were held. In accordance with rejuvenation of party leadership, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Peng Zhen and certain other party veterans were not elected to the Central Committee by the congress. It is considered here that the cadre changes at the congress guarantee stability of the party's ranks and their working ability, and at the same time guarantee a continuity of the ideas and aims that the party brought to its congress.

The congress set out basic signposts on the path of socialist construction. These are: acceleration of economic reforms, further improvement of the political structure, and stepping up the policy of expanding contacts with the outside world.

Congress delegates with whom I managed to talk said they are returning to their provinces and cities in a good mood and with a desire to work for reform. The congress' decisions provide them with broad scope for creativity and remove bureaucratic obstacles.

There are many problems facing China, as was said frankly at the congress. The country's population is immense. The economic base is still weak. The lost time has put China in the position of a state that has to catch up with the world's leading states in many respects. The congress mapped out specific ways for resolving these difficult tasks, casting aside doubts concerning the expediency of utilizing new forms of economic activity and new approaches to problems, both theoretical and practical. "Forward along the road of socialism applicable to China"—that is the slogan under which the congress took place.

Ziyang Voted General Secretary

LD021213 Moscow World Service in English 0902 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is holding a full-scale meeting in Beijing, the first since the 13th Party Congress ended yesterday. The full-scale meeting has elected Zhao Ziyang general secretary of the party. The congress has worked out a large-scale program of political, social, and economic reforms.

In line with the course of the congress to introduce younger party members into the leadership, the make-up of the Central Committee has changed noticeably. Such veterans of the Communist Party of China as Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, and Peng Zheng are no longer on it. At the same time it's reported that though Deng Xioaping holds no major posts in the party leadership he will remain a prominent figure in the party and the state.

Chinese Trade With Socialist Countries Reviewed

LD301435 Moscow TASS in English 2137 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Beijing October 29 TASS—"China's goods turnover in trade with socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, grew five-fold in the period of 1981 to 1986, and has amounted to 10,500 million Swiss francs now," Zhang Haoru, deputy minister of foreign economic relations and foreign trade of the People's Republic of China (PRC), said at a regular press conference at the Press Centre of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of China (PRC).

"Although the share of socialist countries accounts for only eight per cent of China's trade balance," he said, "There are good prospects for the development of mutually beneficial contacts with them."

"The PRC hopes for the broadening of cooperation in all spheres. In particular, the construction of joint industrial and other projects as well as trade on a compensation basis, and scientific and technical cooperation will receive further development."

"The 13th Congress of the CPC," Gu Mu, member of the State Council of the PRC, told journalists, "will give a new impulse to activities comprehensively and deeply to develop China's economic cooperation with all countries in the world. A whole number of measures will be taken with a view to refining legislative work in the field of foreign economic relations, to improving conditions for drawing foreign capital, and so on."

"As far as the drawing of foreign funds is concerned," Gu Mu said, "China will seek to maintain their amount and pattern on a rational scale with due regard for the country's real possibilities to repay the debts and for domestic financial and material means."

It was announced at the press conference that 1,165 projects to an aggregate sum of 2,650 million dollars were under construction in China with the participation of foreign capital in the first three quarters of the current year. Japan accounts for 340 projects costing 1,670 million dollars.

Problem of Counterfeit Goods in China Viewed
PM301205 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 23 Oct 87 p 3

[TASS correspondent G. Arslanov report: "Beware: Counterfeit! Unusual Exhibition Prepared in Peking"; first paragraph is SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] The implementation of economic reform and expansion of the rights and financial independence of Chinese industrial enterprises, particularly in collective and individual sectors, have begun to be accompanied by certain negative phenomena which did not exist in the past. TASS correspondent in Beijing G. Arslanov writes about this specially for *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya.*

"Cases of deliveries of counterfeit goods to the market have dramatically increased. This is to the detriment of purchasers and other industrial enterprises," the director of the PRC State Industry and Commerce Administration stated recently. Now everything is ready for the opening of an exhibition of such products in the halls of Beijing's Chinese Revolution Military Museum. Its purpose is to warn the population, economic organizations, and individual entrepreneurs against obtaining counterfeit goods bearing the trademarks of well-known manufacturers of good, high-quality output.

More than 95,000 cases of the production of counterfeit products in violation of the country's economic laws were revealed over the last 2 years alone, in most provinces and autonomous regions, and also in Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin.

During the exhibition, meetings will be organized between producers of industrial output—directors of sewn goods and textile factories and also enterprises producing everyday goods and foodstuffs—and purchasers, so the latter can personally express what they think of the particular economic department's output and activity.

According to Gan Guoping, deputy [director] of the State Industry and Commerce Administration, counterfeit and poor-quality goods bearing the trade marks of well-known firms are being produced not only in the sphere of liquor products, cigarettes, foodstuffs, clocks and watches, bicycles, clothes, footwear, cosmetics, electrical appliances, and other everyday goods, but also items like cement, fertilizers, chemicals for agriculture, and nonferrous metals. Over the 2-year period, 510,000 bicycles portrayed as output from well-known state enterprises, 230,000 clocks and watches, 3.6 million packets of cigarettes, 19 million bottles of liquor, 85,000 tonnes of fertilizer, and many other goods were confiscated for this reason.

China's Economic Foundation 'Weak'
PM301355 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent Y. Savenkov: "Chinese Economic Problems"]

[Text] Beijing—A vigorous campaign is continuing in China against speculation, fraud, illegal trading without a licence, tax evasion, indiscriminate price rises for the sake of profit, and other negative phenomena hindering the healthy development of economic reform. Society and the media also have within their purview such phenomena as extravagance, corruption, and red tape. A recent state council circular once again resolutely demanded that all institutions observe economic measures and stop spending public funds recklessly.

The 13th CPC Congress, which opens 25 October, will discuss questions connected with accelerating economic reform and reforming the political structure. At the moment, society is in the process of actively surmounting obstacles in the way of socioeconomic transformations.

At a recent conference on the immediate prospects for economic development, Li Tieying, chairman of the state commission for reform, noted that from next year China will start gradually establishing a flexible, modern market system. The state intends to facilitate the solution of conflicts between planning and market regulation and set up a system in which "the state regulates the market and the market directs the activity of enterprises."

The economic independence of enterprises is gradually becoming a fact of life, and another trend is logically emerging alongside it. Various markets are appearing one after another on the economic horizon: markets for the sale of agricultural products, industrial goods, the means of production, technology, and others. The law of value is playing an ever-increasing part, linking production to society's requirements.

But it is by no means easy for China, a country with a vast population and weak economic foundation, Li Tieying stressed, suddenly to reject the traditional model of a "food-based economy" and obsolete management methods. We must acquire, he noted, a deeper understanding of the difficult and complex nature of Chinese economic

reforms. The state is seeking its place in this mechanism by using economic levers. But it still frequently has to resort to administrative measures.

In the first 6 months of the year, in many medium and large cities in the country, the retail prices index for a number of foodstuffs and consumer goods increased by more than 9% compared with the corresponding period last year. As a result, the living standards of some workers and employees fell—this caused the government concern. Here are the chief reasons for the sharp increase in prices: The raw material output plan was not fulfilled, bad weather conditions affected the vegetable harvest in particular, higher raw material prices raised the prices of a number of industrial goods, and the lack of proper coordination in the management system played a direct role as well.

Taking advantage of their monopolies, some enterprises inflated the prices of products, and some people working for themselves did the same. The government adopted measures: An order by the State Council for price control prohibited all deviations from the prices policy, above all unwarranted price inflation. The newspaper *Renmin Ribao* warned: "Unsanctioned price increases could be a serious social problem unless this unhealthy trend is controlled." As a result of a campaign to check the prices of goods, 240,000 cases of illegal overpricing were discovered. Penalties were imposed, and the illegal profits were confiscated. As a result, 20 million yuan went to the budget, and some of the money was returned to the purchasers.

There was a series of these campaigns all over the country in the summer and early fall. The capital was given pride of place. During one campaign in Beijing, involving 10,000 police and employees of the trade and industry administration (a special body which issues licences to open enterprises and monitors the activity of the nonstate sector), 8,000 instances of various violations were discovered. Incidentally, provisions on measures to stop speculative trade, distinguishing normal economic activity from what is described as "speculation," were recently published. The latter term is applied, in particular, to trading in overpriced scarce goods bought from retail trade enterprises, reselling licences for economic activity, trading in objects of historical value, producing and selling goods under false trademarks, and so on.

Newspaper commentaries stress: The revival of the self-employed sector of the economy (since the economic reform began, 3 million businesses have sprung up in the city involving 4 million people, and 9 million in the countryside involving 14 million people) has helped increase production, it has gone a long way toward solving the problem of services, and it has helped to revive the market and make the problem of finding jobs less acute. It is a developing, integral part of the economy. The legal rights of private businesses are protected. It is a matter of combatting those who look for loopholes in the defective legislation and try to exploit the instability of the market in order to get rich. The paper *China Daily* writes: "Unless the lawbreakers are punished the pace of reform will slow."

There is another essential point to be made. The Chinese leaders have repeatedly stressed that when combatting violations one should concentrate efforts on those who are "behind the scenes"—that is, those who provide the speculators with goods, bank accounts, funds, and other "services." As was revealed recently by an authoritative experts' commission which had been on an inspection tour of the country, the traces of illegal activity often lead to state enterprises. For example, between January and May three cement plants in Fujian Province sold 70,000 metric tons of cement at prices in excess of those set by the state. In Shanghai a chemical plant and 10 other enterprises formed an illegal cartel and monopolized prices.

The press is constantly examining questions of professional ethics. Recently the paper *Renmin Ribao* expressed a high opinion of the "Orange" program in Canton. The name comes from the orange-colored diploma the self-employed traders receive on completing the training course. The course is organized under the auspices of the CPC city committee. The subjects include philosophy, political economny, and jurisprudence. There are also lectures and seminars on professional ethics.

As the Chinese press notes, work in combatting "economic crimes" has been considerably stepped up of late by prosecutor's office bodies (it is the chief sphere of activity for prosecutor's office bodies at all levels) and auditing bodies (Chief auditor Lu Peijian: "The main problems we encounter are fraud and the desire of groups and individuals to get rich at the expense of the people and the state"). An effective tax collection network is being set up. They are asking for volunteers: Some 300,000 collectors are helping the state tax administration. In the nine years of economic reform in China, many new enterprises have appeared, particularly in the self-employed sector. There are now 15 times as many taxpayers as there were before the reform. Tax revenue constitutes a considerable proportion of state budget revenue. But a lack of monitoring and in many cases a shortage of professional collectors has led to more frequent cases of violation of payment procedures and even tax evasion. Recently the state tax administration gave instructions to all local branches to coordinate work with public security bodies.

In addition to the movement to eradicate "economic crimes," there is the resolute struggle against bureaucracy. Recently the weekly *Beijing Review*, recalling the most glaring instances of bureaucracy, in particular removal of the forestry minister for dereliction of duty and incompetent leadership during the major forest fire in the northern part of Heilongjiang Province, wrote that

there occur in life many such bureaucratic-style crimes which are sometimes difficult to detect. Therefore, the weekly believes, painstaking daily treatment of the disease is required.

A national monitoring system is now being set up in China for the purpose of ensuring normal implementation of the economic reform and the policy of expanding links with the outside world. As PRC Minister of Supervision Wei Jianxing (the ministry was set up a few months ago) said, the main task of the supervisory bodies is to combat corruption, bribery, dereliction of duty, and sale of confidential economic information to foreigners. Supervisory bodies at district level and above will be set up at the end of the year all over the country.

In short, one is seeing here the difficult process of establishing a healthy atmosphere for development of the socialist transformations that are changing the face of the country. Indeed, there is a Chinese saying that goes: "You cannot run a ditch into a bucket—water does not flow into rain."

Soviet-Chinese Friendship Soiree Held

PM021115 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Glorious Jubilee"]

[Text] A ceremonial soiree was held in Moscow 30 October to mark the 30th anniversary of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society.

The soiree was opened by V.V. Tereshkova, chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries Presidium. The report delivered by Academician S.L. Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the Central Board of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, and the speeches delivered by I.V. Arkhipov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, and other representatives of the Soviet public noted that Soviet people fully approve and support the consistent line of the CPSU and the Soviet Government toward developing relations of friendship, good-neighborliness, and cooperation with the PRC. The Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society is making a contribution to expansion of ties between the Soviet and Chinese peoples in a spirit of respect for our great neighbor—socialist China—and is familiarizing the Soviet public with its daily life, revolutionary traditions, and ancient history and culture.

In connection with the society's 30th anniversary, the opening of a photographic exhibition about the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society's activity and an exhibition of the works of the Dagestan artist G. Magomayev, entitled "Illustrations to Chinese Folk Epics," took place in the center for friendship with the peoples of foreign countries.

The events devoted to the jubilee were attended by I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy minister, leaders and activists of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, employees of the PRC Embassy in Moscow, and Chinese students and industrial trainees. Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR, conveyed greetings from the China Association for International Friendly Contacts and the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Society to the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society.

Near East & South Asia

Dangers of U.S. Nuclear Presence in Gulf

NC301314 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1800 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Commentary by Radio Moscow military analyst Colonel Eduard Grigoriyev]

[Text] Esteemed listeners. According to a *Reuter* report, U.S. military expert (William Arkin) has stated that some U.S. warships stationed in the Persian Gulf are carrying nuclear arms. Our military analyst, Colonel Eduard Grigoriyev writes the following: When (William Arkin) announced this at a news conference, the Pentagon spokesman protested (?against it). This gave further credibility to the utterances. The aircraft carriers with the warships, destroyers, and frigates which are equipped with nuclear weapons, are stationed in many oceans but their presence in the Persian Gulf is of greater (?significance.) The commentator then writes: I do not wish to consider, even for a moment, that it is possible that events may reach a point when ballistic missiles or bombs may be used from the nuclear arsenal. In the light of events that have taken place in the region, various possibilities exist for unintentional use of nuclear weapons.

For example, due to a simple mishap, such incidents have occurred, in the past. Strong psychological pressure, in conditions akin to war, increases the possibility of human error. However, we shoudl keep in mind that in the region of the deployment of U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf, bombs are being exploded, missiles are being fired, and mines are floating in the waters. It makes no difference to these weapons whether the object they strike is a tanker or a warship. The people of the world are also aware that tankers are exploding in the Persian Gulf and erupting into flames. If a U.S. warship carrying nuclear weapons were to explode, what would happen then? Is it any source of consolation that such an explosion did not occur with the intentional pressure on a triggering device of a missile or a bomb but due to some other reason?

We know that a conflagration raging near a powder keg is dangerous. In such circumstances, either we can prevent a concomitant catastrophe by extinguishing the fire or by removing the powder keg from the venue of the

fire. In any case. Bringing a powder keg near a fire is the greatest of dangers. The flames of war are raging in the Persian Gulf at present and the close proximity of nuclear arms poses an extraordinary danger, and not only for the countries of the region!

Further on Vorontsov's Gulf Region Tour

'Friendly Talks' in Kuwait

LD311108 Moscow TASS in English 1051 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Kuwait October 31 TASS—First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Yuliy Vorontsov stayed in Kuwait on October 30 and 31. He had a meeting with the amir of Kuwait Sheikh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah and presented to him a personal message from Mikhail Gorbachev.

He also had a conversation with Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kuwait Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah. Questions of Soviet-Kuwaiti relations, the situation in the Persian Gulf and the present international situation were discussed during the talks which passed in a friendly atmosphere.

Presents Gorbachev's Message

LD311347 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1230 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Excerpt] Kuwait, 31 Oct (TASS)—USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov, was in Kuwait 30-31 October. He had a meeting with Kuwaiti Amir Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, during which he handed him a personal message from Mikhail Gorbachev.

The message notes a coincidence of approach by the USSR and Kuwait regarding the need for a political settlement of regional conflicts and a unity of views on the fact that resolute and urgent efforts are needed to halt the Iran-Iraq war, which has been going on now for 7 years, and to normalize the unprecedentedly exacerbated situation in the Persian Gulf.

We see the main task at the present — the message stresses — is to strive actively for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 598, which contains all the elements needed for a general and cardinal settlement that does not infringe anyone's interests or prestige. I believe there are considerable possibilities for attempting to bring the peace-making potential of this resolution into operation.

The Soviet leader expressed serious concern at the unprecedented concentration of ships of the United States and its NATO allies in the Persian Gulf. The presence of U.S. Navy here not only is not having a restraining effect from the view point of possible development of the conflict, it could, on the contrary, lead to events that would fan the flames of war even higher. Is it even at all possible in the present world that it can be accepted that someone appropriates for himself the function of gendarme and tries to institute order wherever he thinks fit?

Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out that the Soviet Union, of course, advocates, as before, that in the future there should be no warships at all in the waters of the Persian Gulf apart from those belonging to the countries of that region. However, if one is to talk about immediate, realistic steps that could change the situation positively, the best thing, in our view, would be to create UN naval forces. These could include vessels from the United States and the Soviet Union. I am confident that the appearance in the Persian Gulf of forces under the UN flag would be an effective factor for the improvement of the situation in the international waterways of this region and would facilitate the establishment of a mechansim for a political settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict.

In order to put things on a practical level we propose, as is known, bringing into play an international body already in existence—the Military Staff Committee of the UN Security Council. For the sake of dealing with the issues pertaining to the setting up of such forces we are prepared to send to New York representatives with the relevant powers. Of course, the support of the littoral states of the Persian Gulf is required for the idea of setting up UN naval forces under Security Council control to be put into practice.

In conclusion Mikhail Gorbachev assured the amir of Kuwait that the Soviet Union firmly supports the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait, shares its desire for the development of friendly, mutually advantageous Soviet-Kuwaiti relations, and is prepared to do its utmost to promote their further strengthening in the interests of both countries. [passage omitted]

Meets With 'Arafat 30 Oct

LD311317 Moscow TASS in English 1259 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Kuwait October 31 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov met in Kuwait on October 30 with Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

The meeting was held in a friendly atmosphere.

In exchanging views on topical Middle East problems, the sides came out resolutely in favour of the earliest convocation of an authoritative international conference under the U.N. auspices with the participation of all sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization on an equitable basis with other participants, and U.N. Security Council permanent members.

The sides regarded such a conference as the only way leading towards a comprehensive fair settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Concern was expressed over the heightening of tension in the Persian Gulf and the continuation of the bloody Iran-Iraq war. The need was stressed for the earliest fulfilment of resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council in all its parts, and assistance to the U.N. security-general's mission in carrying it out.

They also discussed prospects of developing Soviet-Palestine relations.

Visits, Holds Talks in Tehran

LD011651 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov Second Edition p 5

[Text] Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, stayed in Tehran on October 31 and November 1 at the invitation of the Iranian side.

He had meetings and thorough talks with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, first deputy foreign minister A.M. Besharati and Deputy Foreign Minister Muhammad Javed Larijani.

During the meeting with Velayati the Soviet representative handed him a message from Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

As the current situation in the Persian Gulf was discussed, the sides expressed serious concern about the continued heightening of tension in the region as a result of escalating U.S. naval activity there. The Iranian representatives reacted positively to the Soviet Union's proposal for raising a U.N. naval force to replace the ships of the non-littoral countries cruising in the Gulf.

The talks dealt with every aspect of the issue of fulfilling the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 598. The Soviet side reaffirmed the USSR's position of principle in favor of an early end to the Iran-Iraq war. The sides stressed the major significance of the U.N. secretary-general's efforts to settle the Iran-Iraq conflict peacefully at the negotiating table.

Vorontsov briefed the Iranian leaders on the principal results of the talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in Moscow on October 22 and 23.

During the meetings and talks opinions were exchanged also on matters of bilateral Soviet-Iranian relations. Note was taken of the high significance of Soviet-Iranian political contacts which have become standard practice, and a common interest was reaffirmed in broader mutually advantageous cooperation between the USSR and Iran in technological and economic fields.

DRA'S Najibullah Stops Over in Volgorad

LD312125 Moscow TASS in English 2119 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Volgograd October 31 TASS—Najibullah, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee, chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA), today arrived in the Soviet city of Volgograd. He heads a delegation which is on its way to Moscow to attend the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

A meeting in the Volgograd regional committee of the CPSU Was held on the same day. Vladimir Kalashnikov, first secretary of the party regional committee, acquainted the guest with the work of the party organisation to overhaul the national economy, expedite the region's social advancement and expand democracy.

Najibullah thanked for a warm reception. He said that the national reconciliation process is developing successfully in the DRA. The basis for optimism in implementing this policy is friendship with the Soviet Union, he said.

The guests from Afghanistan will continue familiarizing themselves with the city tomorrow.

PDPA Approves Two New Ministries Decision

LD301410 Moscow TASS in English 2049 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Kabul October 29 TASS—A process of national reconciliation which is under way in Afghanistan calls for a new approach to a number of problems, for an active participation in the public and political life of the country of representatives of all the nationalities and tribes and makes it incumbent to create two new ministries, a Ministry of Tribes and Borders and a ministry of Nationalities, instead of the Ministry of Nationalities and Tribes existing today. A decision to this effect was approved today at a regular session of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

The Politburo discussed as well the reorganization of a system of political education of party members.

Today's session analyzed a number of questions connected with the home and foreign policy of Afghanistan on which resolutions were adopted.

Moscow Ceremony Marks Afghan Solidarity Day

PM021347 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Fraternal Solidarity"]

[Text] A meeting of representatives of the public held in Moscow 23 October was dedicated to the Day of Solidarity With the Afghan People.

The speaker — G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium — noted that the Soviet Union resolutely supports the DRA leadership's policy aimed at achieving peace and calm in the country and its national reconciliation policy.

Soviet people, it was stressed at the meeting, have always had feelings of genuine friendship, sympathy, and solidarity for the Afghan people. The principles of equality and mutual respect form the basis of relations between the two countries.

M. Safi, DRA ambassador to the USSR, indicated the important role played by Soviet efforts in settling the situation surrounding Afghanistan, and talked about his people's courageous struggle against the forces encroaching on the country's sovereignty and their continuing interference in its internal affairs. He expressed gratitude to the Soviet people for their disinterested, fraternal aid and support for Afghanistan in various spheres.

The participants in the meeting sent a message to the public of the friendly state conveying fraternal greetings to their Afghan friends and wishes for success in building an independent, prosperous Afghanistan.

Afghan Fighting, PDPA Activities Reported

LD301627 Moscow TASS in English 1542 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Kabul October 30 TASS—Another 300 refugees have returned to Afghanistan by crossing the Iranian-Afghan border. An armed group went over to the side of people's power in Herat province. In Konduz units of the Afghan Army staged a combat operation against a gang of extremists at the request of the local commission for national reconciliation. During the fighting dozens of counterrevolutionaries were killed, 30 people were taken prisoner, including the ringleader. Afghan soldiers captured a large amount of weapons, including mortars, grenade launchers, missiles, mines and two radio stations.

Provincial and regional party committees, as well as labour collectives continue to discuss at their sessions the results of an all-party conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. A plenary meeting of the Kabul Provincial Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan was held. Its participants signed a resolution on the cohesion of the party ranks and discussed organizing problems. A plenary meeting of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Afghanistan was held which discussed the activities of labour unions during the national reconciliation period.

The Afghan government decided to sell to peasants at low prices seeds and chemical fertilizers for the sowing of winter crops.

No Change Seen in USSR Near East Policy

LD301142 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2105 GMT 29 Oct 87

[From "The World Today" program presented by Farid Seyful-Mulyukov]

[Text] In the first edition of our program we told you how in the shadow of the Iran-Iraq war tension is mounting in the Arab territories occupied by Israel. There is also no progress in sight for the time being on the path of a Near East settlement.

Recently I and apparently other Soviet journalists have had occasion to hear more than once from our Arab colleagues that, allegedly, the attitude of the Soviet Union toward the Arab countries and a settlement of the chronic Near East conflict is gradually changing, for the worse so far as the Arabs are concerned.

To begin with, I recall the words of Comrade Shevardnadze, spoken at his most recent press conference in Moscow following the Soviet-U.S. talks. Rumors and talk to the effect that the Soviet Union is not supporting the Arabs, Comrade Shevardnadze stressed, are fictitious and groundless from start to finish. We have excellent relations with the absolute majority of the countries in the Arab world, and nothing is changing in this here.

Unfortunately, owing to lack of time, it proved impossible to thoroughly discuss the problems of a Near East settlement during the meetings between the Soviet leadership and U.S. State Secretary Shultz, but they are constantly at the center of Soviet diplomacy. This is also borne out in particular by the recent meetings in New York during the United Nations General Assembly session between the USSR Foreign Minister and the leaders of the diplomatic departments of a number of Arab states, by the special mission of Comrade Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, to Syria, Egypt, and Jordan in the second half of October, and a thorough and businesslike discussion held on the issues of a comprehensive and just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. At the Soviet-Arab talks there it was stressed that the path toward such a settlement lies via the convocation of a plenipotentiary conference on the Near East, with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO, and also the five permanent member states of the UN Security Council.

Such is the principled position of the Soviet Union. Virtually all countries, apart from the government of Israel, now advocate the convocation of a Near East peace conference; indeed, even within the Israeli cabinet itself there are different view points. Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres — it is true, under certain conditions — is in favor of convening a conference, whereas Prime Minister Shamir is against it. He once again recently stated on the eve of the visit by Shultz to Tel Aviv that an

international conference is a trap and a danger for Israel, because it signifies its return to the borders of 1967 when in the 6-day war Israeli troops occupied extensive Arab territories.

Israel is seeking to preserve the status quo, especially in the occupied Palestinian territory of the West Bank and the Gaza strip. By way of terror and coercion the Israeli aggressors are seeking to suppress the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for freedom and independence, convincingly borne out by the most recent events in this region. However, in public circles in Israel — I became convinced of this during recent meetings in Geneva with the representatives of various Israeli political parties and public organizations — the conviction is growing that the resolution of the Near East conflict and its key problem, the Palestinian problem, has to be sought along the path of a peaceful political compromise.

But one also must not shut one's eyes to the fact that in Israeli ruling circles the forces of an extremist tendency are still predominant. They are not averse to resolving the Palestinian problem by way of the physical transfer from the occupied territories to Jordan an overwhelming number of Palestinian Arabs. Such a view is held, in particular by Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin, an adherent of the hard line. To stand for great Israel, he stated, without the deportation of the Arabs means to agree to providing them with electoral rights. Rabin asserts that in such an event the Arabs, living both in Israel itself and in the occupied territories, will, as a result of their rapid demographic growth, very quickly turn Israel into a non-Zionist state. In order to avoid a territorial compromise and to hinder the resolution of the Palestinian problem by way of the self-determination of the Arab people of Palestine and the creation of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel, and to keep the seized territories Tel Aviv is providing itself with its own nuclear bombs and missiles, continuing to pursue with the tacit consent of its strategic U.S. partner a policy of aggression and expansion.

At best the Israeli leaders are ready to make separate deals with neighboring Arab countries in order to bury the resolution of the Palestinian problem and the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Near East.

This course is rejected by both the Arab countries and also their time-tested partners in matters of a Near East settlement, of which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have always been. Our diplomatic flexibility by no means signifies the rejection of principles. This is well known to my Arab colleagues who know full well the policy of the USSR in the Near East both in its historical and contemporary perspective. More than ever before Moscow is advocating the unblocking of the Near East conflict by peaceful political means. In the interests of convening a Near East peace conference the Soviet Union maintains a constant dialogue with many Arab states and, of course, from time to time maintains contacts with Israeli politicians, despite the lack of diplomatic relations with Israel, which, as has been stressed by the Soviet leadership on more than one occasion, can be restored only in the course of a Near East settlement.

Even in Washington they are now forced to concede that, as distinct from the United States, the Soviet Union is conducting a dialogue involving all sides of the Near East conflict, which corresponds to the spirit of new thinking in international affairs. As eminent U.S. diplomat Robert Neumann, presently the leader of the program of Near East research of the Center of Strategic and International Studies, writes in *The Washington Post*, the key to Moscow's diplomatic strategy is that, as distinct from the United States, the Soviet Union maintains contacts with all sides of the Near East conflict, and this, he stresses, is having success. Washington is offering the Arabs the same hopeless separate deals. Moscow is, without compromise, supporting the just cause of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, advocating a lasting and comprehensive peace in the Near East.

Damascus Rally Hails Joint Soviet Friendship

PM021447 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 87 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Y. Glukhov dispatch: "Example"]

[Text] Damascus—The Great October Socialist Revolution had a historic impact on the fate of mankind and the formation of the peoples' economic and political independence, Tawfiq Hassun, vice president of the Arab Syrian-Soviet Friendship Society, stated during the opening of a mass rally of the Syrian public held at the Soviet Cultural Center.

Economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and Syria, S. Baqjaji, Syrian minister of planning affairs, stated in his speech at the rally, is an example of international cooperation. It is based on the principles of equality, friendship, mutual advantage, and noninterference in each other's affairs.

The results of and prospects for multilateral Soviet-Syrian economic, technical, and scientific cooperation were discussed in the speech at the rally by N. F. Vasil'yev, USSR minister of land reclamation and water resources.

Soviet Presidium, Mubarak Exchange Greetings

PM301341 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent a congratulatory telegram to Egyptian President H. Mubarak on the occasion of this reelection to the post of president of the republic. In an answering telegram H. Mubarak expressed his gratitude for the congratulations

and expressed the desire to develop relations of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between Egypt and the Soviet Union.

Church Delegation Returns From Israel Visit

LD301407 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—A delegation ofthe Georgian Orthodox Church has returned from Jerusalem. Iliya the second, catholicos-patriarch of all Georgia who led the delegation, said in a TASS interview: "At the invitation of Diodor the first, patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem and all Palestine, we spent ten days, from October 18 to October 28, in the Holy land. The delegation were accorded a ceremonial welcome at the Jaffa Gate by Patriarch Diodor and representatives of other Christian religions in Palestine".

Catholicos-Patriarch Iliya pointed out that the pilgrimate of himself and his associates had a deep spiritual meaning. The Jerusalem Cross Monastry founded in the fourth century a.d. which is a sacred place for the Georgian Orthodox Church is situated in Jerusalem. Shota Rustaveli, a world-famous Georgian poet of the 12th century, is buried on its territory.

Patriarch-Catholicos Iliya explained that in the 18th century because of some intricate political considerations the monastry had passed under the patronage of the Jerusalem patriachate. The head of the Georgian Church expressed hope that a historic tradition with regard to the monastery would be restored. Some time ago it was both a spiritual and cultural centres for georgians.

Patriarch-Catholicos Iliya said that a program of the visit had been rather strenuous. Georgian pilgrims held a service near the holy sepulcher and prayed together with Patriarch Diodor in the Resurrection Cathedral for the consolidation of world peace. The patriarch held a big reception for the guests.

Members of the delegation had a meeting with the minister of religious affairs of Israel and were received by the president of the country.

West Europe

TASS, Nordic News Agencies Sign Agreement

LD011616 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Text] Helsinki November 1 TASS—Today a celebration meeting on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of founding the Finnish News Bureau took place here, at the Swedish Theatre. It was attended by President Mauno Koivisto of the Finnish Republic, parliamentarians, representatives of political parties, the country's mass media, executives of over 30 news agencies of the world, including TASS.

Prime Minister Harri Holkeri delivered a message of greetings on behalf of the State Council of Finland.

The signing of agreements on cooperation for another three-year period between TASS and the news agencies of Nordic countries took place in Helsinki on the same day. The agreements wre signed by TASS Director General Sergey Losev, directors general of the news agencies of Finland—Per-Erik Loennfors, of Norway—Ivar Johansen, of Denmark—Per Winther and of Sweden—Erik Nylen.

Sergey Losev was received by Finnish Prime Minister H. Holkeri. The meeting was attended by P.E. Loennfors and T. Vestergord, Information Department head of the State Council of Finland.

Nuclear Accidents Accord Initialed in Oslo

PM301333 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the "Official Reports" rubric]

[Text] Soviet-Norwegian talks on preparing an intergovernmental agreement concerning prompt notification of nuclear accidents and an exchange of information on nuclear installations have come to an end in Oslo. In the course of the talks, the text of the aforementioned agreement was agreed upon. The document was initialed at the USSR Embassy in Norway by the leaders of the Soviet and Norwegian delegations.

Swedish Air Force Chief Visits Moscow

LD311207 Stockholm International Service in Swedish 1000 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] This week the first official Swedish military visit to the Soviet Union since the submarine violations of 1980 took place. Air Force Commander Lieutenant General Sven-Olof Olson visited Moscow. According to Olson, the discussions in Moscow were marked by a tremendous openness; they dealt with the air incidents of the past few years involving Soviet and Swedish aircraft. Sven-Olof Olson returned to Sweden yesterday.

Presence of Soviet Subs Off Sweden Denied

LD010413 Moscow International Service in Swedish 1900 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] The Swedish Coast Guard is passive in its struggle against foreign submarines. That is the conclusion drawn by U.S. expert Milton Leitenberg in a report published in Washington. Our commentator Oleg Okulovskiy writes:

One cannot fail to observe a conformity to this law: As soon as there is a lull in the Swedish Navy's hunt for submarines, there is an immediate alarm from the other side of the Atlantic. This time it came from Milton Leitenberg, who claims in his report that there is no

doubt Soviet submarines are violating Swedish waters. He points this out (?like) the Swedes, to ensure that the submarine discussion maintains its usual anti-Soviet character.

With typical U.S. ruthlessness, Leitenberg writes that Sweden's lack of activity in the campaign (?can be ascribed to) indecisiveness by the country's political leaders. The government in Stockholm, according to Leitenberg, was afraid that if depth charges were (?seriously) used, this would kill dozens of Russian seamen. Leitenberg ignores the fact that the Swedish Coast Guard has already used such charges—to hide inconsistencies in his argument, apparently. With such [word indistinct], he refers to certain mystical circumstances to explain them away. He admits in the report that it is impossible to explain the operation of foreign submarines in Swedish waters: No true answer can be given to it.

But if one looks, it is clear. An answer can be found to all questions. From the military point of view, the Soviet Union can in no way be interested in its submarines making regular tourist trips to Sweden's coasts several times a year, as Leitenberg claims. That is hardly an effective spying method, considering the level of modern technology. Politically, the presence of Soviet submarines in Swedish waters would primarily be of great value to the United States and extremly unfavorable for the Soviet Union. Economically, too, the United States is interested in supplying expensive anti-submarine devices to Sweden—after every large submarine hunt.

As you see, those behind the submarine hunts in Sweden need go to no great expense. It is necessary only to give the appearance that such submarines exist in Sweden's territorial waters, writes our commentator Oleg Okulovskiy in conclusion.

Swedes Smuggle 'Zionist' Literature, Detained

LD301620 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Leningrad October 30 TASS—Two Swedish tourists were detained by customs officials Thursday evening at Leningrad's Pulkovo Airport. They tried to smuggle Zionist literature into the USSR in special belts.

Flash Harri said he was a professor at Stockholm University while Gabriel Urvits said he was president of the firm Proventus. Both found nothing better to say than they saw nothing wrong in what they did. They said they took the Zionist literature on their own initiative at the Stockholm synagogue. The tourists refused to name the people in Leningrad who were waiting for their "souvenirs".

Under Soviet legislation, both tourists could be expelled from the USSR. But the border guard and customs authorities found it possible to permit them to visit Leningrad.

Soviet Delegation Meets Netherlands Ministers

LD301244 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1533 GMT 29 Oct

[Text] The Hague, 29 Oct (TASS)—The delegation from the USSR Soviet led by P.G. Gilashvili, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium which is in The Hague at the invitation of the States General (Parliament) of the Netherlands, has had meetings with Foreign Minister H. Van den Broek and Defense Minister W. Van Eekelen. During the discussions, which passed in an open [otkrytyy] and businesslike atmosphere, the two sides stressed the idea that expanding and deepening links and contacts between the USSR and the Netherlands is a useful element in enriching dialogue and strengthening trust between East and West.

The representatives of the Netherlands Government advocated that the forthcoming conclusion of a treaty on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles, which is much welcomed by the Netherlanders, be followed by vigorous negotiations and accords in other areas of arms reduction, and by specific steps to strengthen trust and detente.

The Soviet parliamentarians particularly stressed the peaceful and constructive nature of the USSR's initiatives and proposals, which are aimed at firmly removing the risk of war, at ending the arms race, and at creating a comprehensive international security sytem.

Protocol With Belgium-Luxembourg Union Signed

LD310643 Moscow TASS in English 2021 GMT 30 Oct 87

Brussels October 30 TASS—The 13th session of the intergovernmental mixed commission for economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and the Belgian-Luxembourg economic union came to a close here today. A protocol was signed on the results of the work of the session which reflected the results of trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation and outlined prospects of its further development. It is planned to hold the next session of the commission in Moscow in the second half of 1988.

Soviet-French Commission Ends Paris Session

LD310047 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Paris October 30 TASS—TASS correspondent Viktor Khrekov reports:

The Soviet-French mixed ("small") commission on scientific-technical and economic cooperation wound up its 24th session here today.

The session reviewed the results and prospects for boosting ties in science and technology, economic and industrial cooperation, progress in putting intergovernment agreements into effect, and the activity of mixed Soviet-French working groups.

The commission noted a successful on the whole development of cooperation in the field of basic and applied research, especially in such directions as astronomy, seismology, biological research, mathematics, physics and geology. The session formulated measures to help develop direct contacts and ties between Soviet organisations and French firms in a number of branches of the economy. It was also emphasized that new forms of cooperation could contribute to deepening bilateral economic relations.

Multifarious cooperation with the Soviet Union is a strategically important direction in France's foreign policy, Jean-Bernard Ouvrieu, director of the economic and financial department of the French Foreign Ministry who chaired the current session, told TASS. "In the light of sweeping changes taking place in the USSR there is a critical need to give a fresh impetus to our ties which make a tangible contribution to the efforts to promote peace and mutual understanding among nations".

Military Inspectors Return From FRG Visit
LD311000 Moscow TASS in English 0859 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—A group of Soviet military inspectors, which stayed in the FRG with the aim of inspecting military activity on its territory, concluded its work and returned to Moscow yesterday.

Greek Ambassador's Credentials Received
LD301640 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 30 TASS—Mihalis Dhoundas, ambassador of the Hellenic republic to the USSR, presented his credentials in the Kremlin today to Petr Demichev, alternate member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

During a friendly conversation they expressed satisfaction over a dynamic character of Soviet-Greek relations in the past several years and over favourable prospects of their further development. They spoke out in favour of the deepening of a political dialogue between the two countries and the strengthening of cooperation of the USSR and Greece in international affairs in the interests of the consolidation of peace and international security.

Latin America & Caribbean

Panama, Philippines 'Target' of 'Meddling'
PA302307 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Commentary by (Vladislav Chiruja) read by unidentified Moscow Radio reporter]

[Text] Panama and the Philippines are located at opposite ends of the world; however, they share many problems, and not just economic and social ones. Panama and the Philippines have recently been the target of foreign meddling. The same power, the United States, is meddling in their affairs. According to *The Associated Press* dispatches, Panamanian authorities recently arrested nine U.S. Embassy officials and military officers for inciting and participating in right-wing antigovernment demonstrations.

In the Philippines, the U.S. Embassy officials who had actively supported people attempting to stage a coup d'etat were not arrested. Without awaiting the Philippine Government's official protest, the U.S. Embassy announced that one of those diplomats, (Victor Rafael), military attache assistant, was returning to his country.

Why is Washington cooperating with the antigovernment forces in Panama and the Philippines? In both cases, the desire to maintain military bases and influence the situations prompts U.S. policy. Washington does not like the current Panamanian Government because it implements independent policies and insists on compliance with the treaties that will return the Panama Canal. There are, in fact, many U.S. bases in the Canal Zone.

In the Philippines, the U.S. has two major bases. According to press reports, nuclear weapons have been stored there. The Philippine parliament is studying a bill that would declare the entire country a nuclear free zone. This, of course, includes the regions where the U.S. bases are located.

Costa Rican President Arias Congratulated
PM301323 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium congratulations to Costa Rican President Oscao Arias Sanchez]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Oscar Arias Sanchez, president of the Republic of Costa Rica.

Please accept our sincere congratulations in connection with your being awarded, Mr President, the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize. Your activity designed to achieve a peaceful settlement of the situation in Central America has been marked with this honorary award. We are convinced that this was also a manifestation of international recognition

and support for efforts of Central American states, the Contadora Group, and the support group for creating stable conditions for peaceful constructive activity by peoples of the region.

The results of the Guatemala conference convincingly demonstrated the great potential of the Central American and Latin American countries in general in finding mutually acceptable solutions to complex problems.

The Soviet Union, like all peace-loving countries, approves and supports the Guatemala accords. We once again confirm our determination to help efforts to implement the decision adopted by the presidents of the five Central American countries.

We express the hope for successful progress along the path of establishing just peace and good-neighborliness in Central America on the basis of noninterference and strict respect for the sovereignty and right of each people to independently determine the path of its own development. We wish you, Mr President, success in this noble cause.

Ortega Interviewed Before Departure to Moscow

LD312303 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 31 Oct

[Text] Managua, 31 Oct (TASS)—It is a great honor for me to take part in Moscow in the celebrating of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, an event of universal historical importance. Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, stated this in an interview with TASS correspondent Andrey Kurguzov just before flying from Managua to Moscow.

The trip by a Nicaraguan party and governmental delegation to the Soviet Union, he noted, is also an expression of the gratitude of the Nicaraguan people for the aid and solidarity of the Soviet Union under conditions of U.S. imperialist aggression against the republic. It is absolute recognition of the bravery and heroism of the Soviet people in the years of the revolution, the civil and fatherland wars, and the period of peaceful construction of socialism.

From the first days of the Soviet Government, your country has demonstrated a desire for peace and security on earth. We warmly support and approve of the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR and the peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet leadership aimed at lessening tension and achieving detente, Ortega stressed.

Nicaragua, like all people, is looking with hope to the forthcoming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan and wishes it success. Scrapping of a whole generation of nuclear missiles depends on the specific results of the talks between the leaders of the two major world powers. There is no doubt these talks will contribute to improving the international climate, the Nicaraguan leader stressed.

Stops in Cuba, Meets Castro

LD011516 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Text] Havana November 1 TASS—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega made a stop in Cuba on his way to the Soviet Union for the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. He conversed with Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the republic. The heads of Cuba and Nicaragua discussed questions of mutual interest.

Nicaraguan Troops Kill 'Somozist Mercenaries'

LD300801 Moscow TASS in English 0725 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Managua October 30 TASS—Troops of the Sandinist popular army killed 22 Somozist mercenaries in the past two days.

The Nicaraguan Defense Ministry said in a communique issued here Thursday that the main armed clashes had taken place in Nueva Guinea area in the central part of the Atlantic Coast and in Matagalpa and Rio San Jose departments.

The army units seized large amounts of arms, ammunition and military equipment during their successful combat operations.

The communique added, however, that contras kept terrorizing civilians by staging ambushes on highways and raiding peasant cooperatives. On October 23 a Somozist gang abducted another group of peasants in the northern department Jinotega where the government has declared a unilateral cease-fire.

The national commission on human rights denounced the contras' acts of terrorism against civilians and urged the world community to give assistance with securing the release of 20 recently kidnapped Nicaraguans.

In a statement, the commission demanded that the contra chieftains set the hostages free and stop terrorism against civilians.

Sandinists Issue Appeal on Guatemala Accord

LD302320 Moscow TASS in English 0906 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Managua October 30 TASS—The Sandinista National Liberation Front has issued an appeal to the people of Nicaragua and the entire world public, saying

that the Government of Nicaragua is ready to continue implementing the Guatemala agreement provided all sides simultaneously fulfill their obligations.

The appeal notes that since the signing of peace accords by five regional presidents the Nicaraguan leadership made a series of unilateral steps aimed at achieving national reconciliation in the country and the political settlement of the regional crisis. Nicaragua cannot continue unilateral measures when its sincere striving for peace comes against stubborn unwillingness of American imperialism to abandon its policy of terror, the document stresses. The Sandinista National Liberation Front demanded an immediate end to all types of aid to the contras from the USA and Central American governments and stressed that under no circumstances the Nicaraguan Government will agree to talks with the ringleaders of counterrevolutionary mercenaries.

CEMA-Nicaragua Cooperation Session Held

LD302321 Moscow TASS in English 0916 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Managua October 30 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Kurguzov reports:

The fourth meeting of the mixed commission for cooperation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Republic of Nicaragua opened in Managua on Thursday. The meeting is attended by representatives of the USSR, GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Cuba and Czechoslovakia. The Soviet delegation to the talks is led by deputy chairman of the state committee for external economic relations Pyotr Koshelev.

Addressing the meeting, Nicaragua's minister of foreign cooperation Henry Ruiz pointed out the vital importance that the widening of all-round external economic ties with countries of the socialist community has for the young republic. The development of these relations serves the interests of Nicaraguan economy, as well as national sovereignty and independence of the republic. The Nicaraguan people earned the right to choose friends and it highly appreciates the assistance that it is given by socialist countries in conditions of its difficult economic situation and the aggression of the United States and its mercenaries, Henry Ruiz said.

The minister pointed to the worldwide historic importance of the Great October Socialist Revolution that changed the course of world history and set the beginning to a new stage of the development of humanity. The great October revolution put an end to oppression and exploitation, opened the road which will sooner or later be taken by all countries, he said. The disintegration of colonialism, the upsurge of the national liberation movement would be impossible if it were not for the revolution in Russia under V.I. Lenin's guidance. Socialist countries have on their side all the progressive forces of the world. While imperialism spirals the arms race and whips up tension, socialist countries are doing everything within their power to remove the threat of a new world conflict in which there will be no winners. In conditions of the present international situation, countries of the socialist community are reliable guarantors of peace and security in the world, Ruiz said in conclusion.

Economies in 'Serious Crisis'

LD312211 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] The session of the joint commission of CEMA and Nicaragua has ended in Managua. Our correspondent Yuriy Baranov reports from the Nicaraguan capital:

[Baranov] The fourth session of the joint CEMA and Nicaragua commission was held in conditions of the changing political situation in Central America. The prospects that have taken shape for a peaceful settlement of the regional conflict within the framework of the Guatemalan accord make it possible to hope, as local observers are noting, for a lessening of economic dependence of countries in the region on the United States.

The consequences of U.S. interference in the affairs of Central America are enough. Over the past 7 years, the GNP of Central American countries has slipped to the level of 1972. The economy of countries in the region is going through a serious crisis. All these difficulties are intensified for Nicaragua by the enormous damage inflicted on its economy by foreign aggression. This republic is forced to spend almost half of its state budget on defense. In addition, the U.S. trade and economic embargo persists.

In these conditions, cooperation with the CEMA countries acquires particular significance for the revolutionary republic. Last year, the volume of CEMA countries' trade with Nicaragua increased by 30%. Economic and scientific and technical cooperation on a bilateral basis is developing successfully. The present fourth session of the joint commission has mapped out measures for speeding up implementation of existing cooperation projects.

Giving an assessment of cooperation with CEMA countries, Henry Ruiz, Nicaraguan minister of foreign cooperation, stressed that the republic views it as an important factor in upholding its sovereignty and right to self-determination, and defending the revolutionary gains of the Nicaraguan people.

Moscow-Caracas Radio Bridge Organized

LD301456 Moscow TASS in English 2304 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Caracas October 30 TASS—A Caracas-Moscow Radio bridge was organized on the initiative of the Soviet radio and the *Novosti* press agency on Thursday for the first time in the history of relations between the Soviet Union and Venezuela.

Taking part in the broadcast from the Venezuelan side were Edmundo Chirinos, chairman of the committee to prepare festivities in Venezuela on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, rector of the Central University of Venezuela, Fermin Toro, a lawyer and prominent political news analyst, leading journalists, poets, writers, and public figures.

There was a frank exchange of opinions on matters concerning the international situation. The Venezuelan interlocutors took a lively interest in the current reorganization process in the Soviet Union, in further democratisation of Soviet society, and in the atmosphere of openness.

Questions conected with the work for peace and nuclear disarmament and the Soviet initiatives aimed at establishing a system of international security on earth in the political, economic and social fields aroused great interest.

The opinion of the Venezuelan side is that the first experience in direct contacts with Soviet interlocutors was useful and deserves further development.

BRIEFS

Protocol Signed With Bolivia

Santa Cruz October 30 TASS—TASS correspondent Anatoliy Ladygin reports: The third session of the Soviet-Bolivian Intergovernmental Commission on Trade and Economic Cooperation ended here with the signing of a final act and an agreement on economic and technical cooperation. The documents emphasize both sides' aspiration to boost on a mutually profitable basis trade and economic ties between the two countries. It was noted at the session closing ceremony that the agreement signed would become a legal base for concluding contracts and deals on specific projects to develop the Bolivian economy with the USSR's technical assistance. [Text] *[Moscow TASS in English 1611 GMT 30 Oct 87 LD]*

TASS Reports on Gorbachev GOSR Speech

LD020805 Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—The October Socialist Revolution of 1917 "was a logical result of the development of the ideas and practice of the centuries-long struggle by working people for freedom and peace, for social justice, against class, national and spiritual oppression". This was how the international significance of the October Revolution was described by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev in his report at a meeting in the Kremlin devoted to the revolution's 70th anniversary.

The foundation of the Great October Revolution's success, its cornerstones were laid by the first Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 and by the gains of the February Revolution of 1917 which became the first victorious popular revolution in the epoch of imperialism, the speaker said.

Mikhail Gorbachev recalled that the socialist revolution had been accomplished in a country with an average level of development of capitalism, a high concentration of industry, with a predominantly agricultural population, with deep-rooted leftovers of feudalism and even preceding social formations.

The early 1920s witnessed a great upsurge of popular initiative and creativity, the speaker said. The socialist construction that was started under Lenin's guidance brought with it many elements of fundamental novelty. Methods of plan economy were worked out and applied for the first time in world history. The Goelro plan of Russia's electrification was a genuine discovery, a whole rung in the advancement of world economic thought and practice. This was not only a very ambitious plan of electrification but a project, as Lenin put it, of "harmoniously combining" agriculture, industry and transport, to use a modern term, a comprehensive programme of siting and developing the country's productive forces.

The Soviet Leader described Lenin's untimely death in 1924 as a great shock for the entire party and the people. "The sorrow was boundless and the loss irreplaceable", he said.

When assessing the 1920s and 1930s which occupy a special place in the history of the Soviet state the speaker described them as years "of hard work on the limit of human possibilities, of acute and multifarious struggle. The industrialisation, collectivisation, cultural revolution, strengthening of the multi-nation state, consolidation of the USSR's international positions, new forms of managing the economy and the entire social life—all this took place precisely during this period. And all this had far-reaching consequences".

Mikhail Gorbachev noted that although the party and society were armed with Lenin's concept of building socialism the search of the road was far from simple and passed in acute ideological struggle, in an atmosphere of political discussions. They centred on fundamental problems of society's development, first of all on the possibility of building socialism in the USSR.

The petty bourgeois nature of some authoritative leaders of those years took the upper hand. They engaged in factionalism. This affected party organisations, distracted them from the matter at hand and interfered with their work. These leaders continued to provoke a split even when it had become clear to the overwhelming majority in the party that their views were running counter to Lenin's ideas and plans, that their proposals were erroneous and capable of pushing the country off the correctly taken course.

This applies first of all to Trotskiy who after Lenin's death demonstrated exorbitant claims to leadership in the party. "Trotskiyism is a political trend whose ideologists, using left-wing pseudorevolutionary phraseology, actually stood on capitulatory positions", the speaker said further. "By its essence this was an attack on Leninism along the entire front. And the point at issue actually was the fate of socialism in our country, the fate of the revolution".

What complicated the situation was that the Trotskiyites were in alliance with the "new opposition" headed by Zinovyev and Kamenev. Realising that they were a minority, the leaders of the opposition kept trying to impose a discussion on the party in the hope of splitting the party ranks. But in the end the party declared for the line of the Central Committee, against the opposition which was ideologically and organisationally routed.

So "The guiding nucleus of the party, which was headed by Stalin, upheld Leninism in the course of ideological struggle, formulated the strategy and tactics at the initial stage of socialist construction and secured the approval of the political course by the majority of party members and working people", Mikhail Gorbachev stressed.

Late in the 1920s, the speaker went on, acute struggle developed also over the question of the ways of switching the peasantry to the rails of socialism. The different attitude of the majority of the Political Bureau and of Bukharin's group to applying the principles of the New Economic Policy at the new stage of Soviet society's development manifested itself in the course of this struggle. In their estimates and theoretical tenets Bukharin and his supporters for all practical purposes underestimated the importance of the time factor in building socialism in the 1930s.

Speaking further about the pace of the country's industrialisation the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee noted that "heavy industry, including machine-building, the defence industry and a chemical

industry that was modern for its time, were created virtually anew under the leadership of the party and its Central Committee within a short period of time, and the plan of the country's electrification was fulfilled".

By the late 1930s the USSR moved to first place in Europe by industrial output and to second place in the world, and became a really great industrial power. "This was a feat of labour of world historic importance, a feat of emancipated labour, a feat of the party of Bolsheviks", Mikhail Gorbachev stated.

At the same time, the speaker went on, those years brought losses as well. In those days many came to believe in the universal effectiveness of rigid centralisation, to believe that methods of issuing commands were the shortest and best way of fulfilling any tasks, and this made itself felt on the attitude to people, to their living conditions. There originated an administrative-command system of party and state guidance of the country and bureaucratism, about the danger of which Lenin had warned in his time, intensified. There began to form also a corresponding structure of administration and methods of planning.

Mikhail Gorbachev said that a departure from Lenin's policy in respect of the peasantry had taken place in a matter of tremendous importance that concerned the destiny of the majority of the country's population.

But when assessing as a whole the importance of collectivisation in strengthening socialism's positions in the countryside the Soviet leader stressed that "in the long run it was a turn of fundamental importance. Collectivisation signified a fundamental change in the entire way of life of the country's main mass of population on socialist principles".

When dealing with the entire complexity of that period the speaker noted that the methods dictated by the period of struggle against the hostile resistance of the exploiter classes were mechanically applied to the period of peaceful socialist construction and an atmosphere of intolerance, hostility and suspiciousness was created in the country. It is absolutely clear that it was exactly the absence of a proper level of democratisation of Soviet society that made possible both the personality cult and the violations of legality, the arbitrariness and repressions of the 1930s, Mikhail Gorbachev said and described them as "real crimes on the basis of abuse of power". "Many thousands of party members and non-party members were subjected to mass repressions", he added.

When summing up Stalin's role in the country's history the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said that this was an "extremely contradictory" personality. "If we are to remain on positions of historical truth", the speaker went on, "we must see both Stalin's unquestionable contribution to the struggle for socialism, in defence of its gains, and his gross political mistakes, the arbitrariness permitted by him and those who were close to him". At the same time he stressed that Stalin's personality cult was not something unavoidable. "It was alien to the nature of socialism, a retreat from its fundamental principles and therefore has no justification at all".

Noting that the process of rehabilitating the innocent victims of the period of the personality cult was suspended in the mid-1960s, Mikhail Gorbachev announced that the Political Bureau of the Central Committee had set up a commission to make an all-round study of new and already known facts and documents related to these questions. Appropriate decisions would be adopted on the results of its work, he said and added that all this would find its reflection in an essay on the history of the CPSU the preparation of which would be assigned to a special commission of the CPSU Central Committee.

Speaking further about the lessons of World War Two the Soviet leader stressed that the Soviet people's patriotism, which had acquired a new socialist content, had manifested itself in full during those years.

Mikhail Gorbachev refuted the false contentions of Western propaganda which is trying to blame the USSR for the Second World War, the road to which was allegedly opened by the Ribbentrop-Molotov non-aggression pact. The Soviet leader said that it was by no means on September 1, 1939 that the war had become a tragic reality. Its first fires were the seizure by Japan of Northeast China (the "Manchurian incident" of 1931-1932), Italy's attack on Ethiopia in 1935 and on Albania in the spring of 1939, the German-Italian intervention against republican Spain (1936-1939), and Japan's armed invasion of north and then central China (summer of 1937).

The USSR had done much to create a system of collective security and prevent the world slaughter. But the Soviet initiative failed to evoke a response among Western politicians and politicos who were planning in cold blood how best to draw socialism into the flames of war and put it on a collision course with fascism.

Gorbachev described the years of the Great Patriotic War(1941-1945) as one of the most glorious and heroic pages in the party's life. These years showed that "The Soviet people, the party, socialism and the October Revolution are inseparable and that there are no forces in the world which could destroy this unity."

"The immense political will, purposefulness and persistence, the ability to organize people and enhance discipline displayed by Stalin during the war played their role" in achieving victory, the speaker said. "But the heaviest onus of the war was borne by the ordinary Soviet soldier."

Assessing the post-war period in the country's life, the Soviet leader emphasized that heroism in every-day life during those hard years was a source of "economic and scientific and technological progress, the mastering of atomic energy, the first launches of spaceships and the growth of material and cultural standards of the population."

At the same time, contradiction between the new Soviet society and the old methods of leadership made itself felt to a growing extent. The abuses of power continued, so did violations of socialist legality.

In the mid-fifties, especially since the 20th CPSU Congress, the wind of change swept the country, the people took fresh heart, cheered up, became bolder and more confident.

It took the party and its leadership headed by Nikita Khrushchev much courage to criticize Stalin's cult of personality and its consequences, to restore socialist legality.

Old stereotypes in domestic and foreign policy started to collapse. Attempts were made to do away with the command and bureaucratic methods of management that were established in the 30s and 40s, and impart greater dynamism to socialism.

At the same time, he noted, a lot of subjectivist errors were committed, which made it more difficult for socialism to enter a new stage, and which largely compromised progressive undertakings.

Gorbachev recalled that change in the leadership of the party and the country took place at the October, 1964, Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and decisions were adopted to overcome voluntarist tendencies and aberrations in domestic and foreign policy.

Many foreign policy actions which strengthened the Soviet state's international prestige were carried out. Military-strategic parity with the United States was secured.

In those years, the speaker went on to say, the USSR possessed great potentialities for speeding up its development. But to use these potentialities, to set them into motion, new drastic changes in society and, of course, a corresponding political will were required.

Both were lacking, however.

At the 27th CPSU Congress the party frankly named the causes of that situation, exposed the mechanism decelerating development and assessed it in a principled way.

It was emphasized that during the last years of Leonid Brezhnev's life and work, the search for ways for further advancement was largely restrained by the commitment to conventional formulas and patterns which did not reflect new realities. The gap between the word and the deed widened.

Healthy forces within the party and society on the whole felt increasingly keenly the urgent need for and necessity of overcoming the negative phenomena.

In response to this acute social need, the April, 1985, Plenum of the Central Committee advanced a concept and strategy of accelerating the country's socio-economic development, a course towards the renewal of socialism which was further elaborated theoretically and politically in decisions of the 27th Congress and subsequent plenums of the Central Committee and made up the general line of the revolutionary reconstruction of all aspects of life in socialist society.

The speaker singled out two key issues in the development of society which determined the future of restructuring. These were democratization of entire social life and radical economic reform.

In formulating the goals of the radical economic reform started in the country, Gorbachev said that it was required to "secure within the next two-three years transition from excessively centralized, command management to a democratic system based on predominantly economic methods, on the optimum combination of centralism and self-management.

It provided for the sharp expansion of independence of amalgamations and enterprises, their transfer to full cost-accounting and self-financing."

"The party shall not allow any departures from the adopted principles of economic reform," the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed. "All the planned changes should be and will be fully implemented."

He emphasized the growing importance of intellectual work, of interaction between science, technology and society, and of the humanistic, ethical orientation of science and scientific and technological progress.

The report gave much attention to the nationalities issue in the USSR. "We hold sacred friendship and cooperation of the peoples of the USSR. So this was, so this will remain. This corresponds to the spirit of Leninism, traditions of the Great October Revolution and the vital interests of all nations and ethnic groups inhabiting our motherland," said the Soviet leader.

Assessing the course of restructuring in the USSR, Gorbachev pointed out that the country was passing through a crucial period. The first stage of work on restructuring was completed on the whole, its concept had been worked out.

A new political, moral and psychological situation was created in the country. Production growth rates increased. Qualitative changes became apparent in the economy, major scientific and technological programmes were being implemented, national machine-building was being modernized.

Agricultural development became more stable. Gorbachev said the grain harvest this year had exceeded 210 million tonnes. The started improvement of the economy made it possible to launch large-scale measures in the social sphere.

At present, the speaker said, the point at issue was entering a new stage of restructuring, "when all of our policy, all of our decisions are being translated into specific deeds, are being carried out."

"The next two, three years would be the most complicated, decisive and to a certain extent critical, according to Gorbachev. "It will be necessary to handle simultaneously large-scale tasks in the economy and the social sphere, in restructuring state and public management, in ideology and culture."

Evaluating today's world in the light of the 70th anniversary of the revolution, the Soviet leader emphasized that the "world would have been different from what it is today had it not been for the great revolution in Russia."

The Soviet state already broke through isolation in the world arena two years after the end of the civil war. Treaties were concluded with neighbouring countries, and then with Germany in Rapallo.

The Soviet Republic was recognized diplomatically by Britain, France, Italy, Sweden and other capitalist nations.

First steps were made to establish equitable relations with nations of the Orient—China, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan.

"All these were not merely first victories of Leninist foreign policy and diplomacy. Fundamentally new international development was launched. The main direction of our international policy was initiated, a direction which we rightfully describe as a Leninist course towards peace, mutually beneficial cooperation of states and friendship of peoples," said the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence, naturally,has undergone changes, the speaker said. Being a continuation of the victorious proletariat's class policy, peaceful coexistence, especially in the nuclear age, has turned into a condition of the survival of the whole of mankind.

The April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee became a milestone in the development of Lenin's thought along this direction as well. The 27th Congress presented the new foreign policy concept in developed form. Its starting point, the Soviet leader said, is the following idea: "Notwithstanding the profound contradictory nature of the present-day world and the fundamental differences of the states comprising it, it is interconnected, interdependent and is a certain entity".

Mikhail Gorbachev recalled that together with the countries of the socialist community the USSR has come out with a number of major initiatives in the United Nations, among them the draft plan of creating a comprehensive system of international peace and security. The Warsaw treaty states have proposed to NATO, to all European countries to reduce armed forces and armaments to the level of reasonable sufficiency. They have called for a comparison of the military doctrines of both alliances with the aim of imparting an exclusively defensive directedness to them. They have proposed a concrete plan and are vigorously pressing for the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons. they have displayed initiative in the field of working out effective methods of monitoring arms reduction, including on-site inspection.

Among the events of the new stage in international development the Soviet leader singled out the meeting in Reykjavik in October 1986. He spoke highly of the accord with the United States to conclude shortly an agreement on medium-and shorter-range missiles. "This is indubitably an important success for new thinking, a result of our readiness to seek mutually acceptable solutions, while carefully protecting the principle of equal security," Gorbachev said.

Speaking further about the nature of imperialism, in which the main danger of war is rooted, Gorbachev said the novel nature of the international economic and political process of the times had not yet been grasped completely, but that had to be done because the processes at work had the force of an objective law.

Despite all its might, transnational capital would not be able to determine the paths for the "Third World" to take and would rather itself have to adjust to the independent choice that peoples themselves had either already made or would make, he said, adding that they and the organizations representing them were vitally interested in a new world economic order.

Gorbachev called attention to the emergence of new mass movements on the world's political scene. "These are the movements against the nuclear threat, for environmental protection, against racial discrimination, against a policy splitting society into those lucky and those doomed, and against misfortunes hitting whole industrial zones that have fallen victim to new capitalist modernization."

Social democratic, socialist and labour parties and similar or related mass organizations kept playing a stably important role in the politics of a number of countries and were increasing their influence in some of them, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said.

"So, in all the parameters—economic, political and social—we can see that everywhere in the present-day world there is coming true an idea which Lenin regarded as one of the most profound in Marxism, namely that along with the profundity of historical action, the mass of people pursuing it as their cause will grow, too, which always is the truest sign of and the most powerful factor for social progress and hence peace," he said.

Optimistically evaluating prospects for creating a comprehensive system of international security, Mikhail Gorbachev said the Soviet position on the issues of defense was logically connected with it.

"As long as the danger of war stays put and social revenge remains the pivot of the strategy and military programmes of the West, we shall continue doing everything essential to maintain our defensive strength at a level ruling out imperialism's military superiority over socialism," he said.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee set great store by the international communist movement. "The CPSU," he said, "does not doubt the future of the communist movement which offers an alternative to capitalism, a movement of the more valiant and consistent campaigners for peace, for the independence and progress of their countries and for friendship among all nations on earth."

The Soviet leader described the emergence of the world socialist system as the major development in world history after the October Revolution. That system, he said, had suggested to the world its answers to the principal questions of human existence and tested its humane and collectivist values centred on the working man.

"Strengthening friendship and developing cooperation with the socialist countries in every way is the top priority in the Soviet Union's international policy," the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee declared.

He stressed the growing role of the CPSU in Soviet society and said the party now included 20 million people, or one in ten adults in the country.

GOSR Ceremony Held at Kremlin Palace

LD021054 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Text] A joint festive session of the CPSU Central Committee,USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviets dedicated to the 70th anniversary of October opened in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. Those gathered greeted with applause Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Gromyko, Zaykov, Ligachev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Solomentsev, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Shcherbitskiy, Yakovlev, Demichev, Dolgikh, Yeltsin, Solovyev, Talyzin, Yazov, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Lukanov, Medvedev, Razumovskiy and Kapitonov.

The festive session was opened by Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko.

A report "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues" was delivered by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The report was listened to with great attention and was accompanied with prolonged applause.

Central Television and all-union radio is relaying proceedings from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

We concluded our relay with the conclusion of Comrade Gorbachev's report. We will inform you in detail of how the festive session proceeds. After an interval it will continue its work.

Gromyko Addresses Meeting

LD020730 Moscow TASS in English 0728 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—"The cause of the October Revolution lives in our country and not only in it. It can be seen in the successes of socialist countries. It is in the deeds of the fraternal communist and workers' parties, in the national-liberation struggle of peoples, in the movement of all of the world's progressive forces for peace, against the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, against the militarisation of outer space", it was stated by Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

He opened today a meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the Russian Federation devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Andrey Gromyko noted that the 70th anniversary of Soviet Government was a line "on approaching which we have the right to look back and say with confidence:

Yes, indeed, we have traversed a tremendous road. It had obstacles and difficulties, a lot of sweat and blood were shed, but our people surmounted everything and overcame everything. And the results of this road are the magnificent victories of socialism, the unfading values of socialist social relations, the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the triumph of the ideas of proletarian internationalism".

Andrey Gromyko said that Soviet people were ushering in the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution "in a period of a huge revolutionary reconstruction. A mighty process of renovation of the whole of society is taking place".

"The Great October Revolution", Andrey Gromyko said further, "has exerted a tremendous influence on the entire world, on other peoples. Its victory resolutely influenced international relations as well. Such notions born by the October Revolution as genuinely equal cooperation, peaceful coexistence and disarmament have become part of the language of contacts between countries".

The chairman of the meeting said that present in the hall were 163 delegations from 119 countries. He thanked the foreign guests for coming to the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Then the floor was given to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

Press Conference on Nationality 'Mistakes'
LD301808 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 30 TASS—The numerous correspondents who came here from all over the world for the celebrations on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October, had an opportunity today to see for themselves that over the years of Soviet power a truly unique multinational state has shaped on the USSR's vast territory, that every people, every nationality inhabiting this country has its own identity, inimitable culture and biography. And for seven decades now a single biography of the Land of the Soviets, a single biography of the Soviet people has shaped.

The correspondents were told about that at the meeting today by Boris Pugo, first secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee, Djumber Patiashvili, first secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee, and Rafik Nishanov, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan. The meeting held at the press centre for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution was devoted to the internationalist policy of the CPSU.

It is precisely in its multinational character that the USSR's strength and power, the potentialities of growth and the development lie, Nikolay Shishlin, a senior executive of the CPSU Central Committee, said opening the press conference. This did not happen at once, since tsarist Russia was aptly described as the prison of the peoples. Over the years of Soviet power their full political equality has been achieved, every republic has become a highly organized industrial-agrarian complex and is accelerating the rates of its development under the conditions of perestroyka (restructuring). A mutual enrichment of national cultures takes place, this is a result of the October Revolution, a result of the party's following the ideas of Lenin in its work.

This is not true to say, Shishlin continued, that we made no mistakes on the issue of nationalities, that there were no serious flaws on the difficult historical path which our country covered in the course of seven decades. The stagnant phenomena of the seventies and the preceding period left over to us not only pluses, but also minuses which are bitter enough.

As is known, we have encountered over the recent period not only manifestations of lofty socialist patriotism, not only the truly internationalist spirit, but also nationalist sentiments. And the remedy here is Lenin's internationalist policy, whose essence is not the proclamation of some truisms, but practical work for firmly asserting real equality for all: economic, political and cultural equality, Nikolay Shishlin emphasized.

Further Report
LD302357 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2004 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Report by Yuriy Gordeyev on 30 October news conference held at the Great October Socialist Revolution Press Center by Boris Pugo, Latvian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; Dzhumber Patiashvili, Georgian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; Rafik Nishanov, Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; and Nikolay Shishlin, Great October Socialist Revolution Press Center director]

[Text] [Gordeyev] Participating in the news conference were Comrades Pugo and Patiashvili, first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Latvian and Georgian Communist Parties, respectively; and Comrade Nishanov, chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet. Opening the meeting, Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, the director of the press center, said that in the 70 years of Soviet power much has been done in our country to implement Lenin's nationalities policy. However, the path has not consisted solely of victories. It also happened that the flourishing of national culture in one republic or another was transformed into nationalism. Assessing the situation as a whole, Comrade Shishlin stressed that the peoples of the USSR are marking the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution in a state of unity and cohesion. The questions put to the participants in the news conference concerned various aspects in the lives of the peoples of Latvia, Georgia, and Uzbekistan.

In his answers, Comrade Patiashvili, for example, described how the peoples from other republics in our country helped Georgia recover from natural disasters.

[Begin Patiashvili recording] Conditions in our republic this year have not been entirely favorable. As late as June there were snowfalls and landslides, and the people suffered. About 4,000 families left the mountains and moved into lowland areas. I have just flown in from Tbilisi, and once again we have had a natural disaster there. It has affected our spirits and the economy, but I can say straight out that the whole country has been helping and continues to help us, and today the situation is being rectified. If it were not for that aid, and if it were not for the attitude toward us that there has been in our country, things would have been a lot more difficult for us. [end recording]

[Gordeyev] Uzbekistan has problems in addition to its own. Next door, in Afghanistan, blood is being spilled. In this connection, the chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet was asked what the attitude of the republic's people is toward to the events taking place in the neighboring country.

[Begin Nishanov recording] The people of Uzbekistan have based and continue to base their assessments of events taking place in Afghanistan and around it on the fact that in April 1978 a revolution took place in Afghanistan. That revolution was carried out by the Afghan people and by the Afghan democratic and revolutionary forces, and no one interfered in that revolution; no one had a hand in it. The workers of Uzbekistan ask: Why did that revolution take place? The workers then find the answer themselves. The answer is that prior to April 1978 in Afghanistan there was almost universal illiteracy, severe backwardness in economic development, and severe backwardness in social development. The people understand that the dissatisfaction of the Afghan popular masses with the ruling regime led to that April Revolution. The people of the Eastern USSR can see that since 1978 profound social changes have been taking place in Afghanistan. The people are running their own state; schools are opened; illiteracy is being eliminated; industrial enterprises are opening; sovkhozes are being set up; and the foundations of national economic and social development are being created. So there are no variations between the views held by the workers of Uzbekistan and other Soviet republics in Central Asia or the Transcaucasus regarding the process taking place in Afghanistan. The workers of our republic, like all Soviet people, support the policy of our party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government aimed at resolving the question of Afghanistan and around it by political means as soon as possible.

[Gordeyev] No doubt each of the participants in this news conference has fairly complete information about the events that occurred in our Baltic republics in August. Both our press and the foreign press have written much about this. Nonetheless, a question was asked on this subject. There was a great desire to obtain information from the first secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia himself.

[Pugo] Actually, a fuss was stirred up over...[Pugo changes thought] It has been going on for several years. Over the past 5 years, roughly, documents have regularly been adopted in the U.S. Congress calling for Baltic day to be marked in honor of the so-called Soviet-occupied republics. We in the republic have a perfectly clear and unanimous attitude toward this: It is nothing but interference in our internal affairs. The actual date, 23 August, is the date on which a treaty was signed between the Soviet Union and Germany. Whether any comment is called for on that treaty now, I do not know. What I do know is that in the West they are trying to show that by that treaty the occupation of the Baltic republics was, in effect, agreed to. As we know, by that time there was, indeed, a revolutionary situation in the republics.

The population of Latvia—I am speaking today on behalf of Latvia—had always sympathized with Russia. We know that Latvia was one of the most developed regions of Russia, industrially speaking. Our republic is famed for its revolutionary traditions. The Latvians often use a proverb that says, The wind blows from the West, but the sun rises in the East. Indeed, many winds have blown over our Baltic region, but our people have always had a very deep affection for Russia and the Soviet Union.

Under the treaty that was later concluded between the Soviet Union and Latvia, between the Soviet Union and Estonia and Lithuania, troops—Soviet troops—were brought into their territory; these were measures taken entirely out of necessity. I can cite a very large number and variety of statements of that time, from various Western sources, about the necessity of that measure, the desirability of that measure. Because the Soviet Union had to think of how to protect its flanks and prevent a sudden attack on the territory of the Soviet Union. Various radio voices have tried to put a completely different interpretation on that date, 23 August. Then came what amounted to an open call for people to come to the memorials—in this case to the freedom monument in Riga—and protest against the concluding of that treaty. I am convinced and know for certain that the absolute majority of the population both of the city of Riga and of the republic share the viewpoint that we should not create any unnecessary hotbeds of tension. [end recording]

More on Press Conference

LD310319 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2110 GMT 30 Oct 87

[News conference held by Boris Karlovich Pugo, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia; Dzhumber Ilyich Patiashvili, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia; Rafik Nishanovich Nishanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Uzbek SSR; and Nikolay Shishlin, Great October Socialist Revolution press center director,at the Great October Socialist Revolution Press Center on 30 October—recorded]

[Text] [Shishlin] I would like to present the participants in the news conference: Boris Karlovich Pugo, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia; Dzhumber Ilyich Patiashvili, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia; Rafik Nishanovich Nishanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Uzbek SSR.

The Soviet Union is a multinational state, and it is in this multinationality that our country's strength, power, and opportunities for growth and development lie. In the years of Soviet power—in these 70 years that we have traversed—the complete political equality of all the nations, nationalities, and national groupings in our country has been asserted. We have complete political equality. I am a long way from claiming that during these 70 years we have not made any mistakes on the nationalities issue; that there have been no very serious flaws on this difficult and complex historic path along which our country has passed.

Moreover, we by no means intend to claim that, regarding national relations in our country, there are no problems. That is not the case. Stagnant phenomena in the seventies and, indeed, earlier phases of our development have brought us negative as well as positive developments—fairly bitter negatives. It cannot go unstated either that virtually every generation learns internationalism and learns to value internationalism through its own personal experience. Internationalism is not passed on like a baton. It is all more complicated. It requires appropriate policies and appropriate brainwork.

I would also like to say this: As you know, lately we have encountered not only manifestations of great socialist patriotism and not only a genuine internationalistic spirit, but also nationalist epidemics, or, if you like, demonstrations of nationalism. The nature of this phenomenon is quite complex. It is quite a paradox. Take the growth of national culture: This is a wonderful thing; something we are proud of; something that could keep on making us happy. An affirmation of national cultural development leads to an increase in national consciousness, to an increase in the intelligentsia. It is as though the people are discovering their history from scratch.

[Pavlov] Novosti press agency, Pavlov. Boris Karlovich, I would like to ask why the Commission for International and National Relations at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee has been set up? What is its purpose?

[Pugo] The Commission for International and National Relations of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee was set up this year. The need for it was determined by the fact that lately, beginning with the party's 27th congress and at subsequent party Central Committee plenums, a number of very correct observations were made that national and international relations have previously been occasionally presented in too simplified a form. In reality, in our republic and in other republics as well, there are probably problems and issues requiring examination at regular intervals. At the first session of this commission—which, incidentally, is headed by the first secretary of the Republic's Communist Party, I head this commission—we have put forward the issue of the study of languages in our republic's educational establishments—that is, the study of the Russian language in Latvian schools, and the study of the Latvian language in Russian schools. The issue turned out to be very urgent. We received—[Pugo changes thought] We addressed our republic's population on the eve of the commission's session, asking them to send in their questions and opinions on the essence of this problem, and we really did receive many letters and many proposals that were taken into account. Strictly speaking, to put it very briefly, the crux of the matter boils down to the following: There should be bilingualism in the republic. The Latvian language and the Russian language may be used on an equal basis. Why did we broach the issue of schools? Because languages are learned most easily at an early age. So we have raised the issue that language learning should literally begin in kindergarden, that languages would be better learned in the initial grades, the first, second, third, and fourth grades. Up until now the main emphasis has been put on learning in higher grades; we think this was not quite justified. The interest among the nonnative population in the Latvian language is very great. Many circles have been set up lately, especially after we drew attention to this issue, in higher education establishments and in schools. Incidentally, such a circle for the study of the Latvian language is also in operation in the republic's leading bodies.

[Unidentified questioner] A year has passed since the disorders occurred in Alma-Ata. What lessons have already been learned from these events, and how do things stand on this issue, with the nationalities policy in the republic?

[Nishanov] As far as events in Alma-Ata are concerned, this cannot be presented so quickly and lightly as disturbances based on nationality. It was a clash, demonstrations by individuals brought about by nationalist feelings; but they were not supported by masses of people. The Kazakh people, like all people in the Soviet Union, live in our friendly, fraternal family. There are no traces now of what happened in Alma-Ata last December. Some features that were caused by stagnation in the economy and social development might also have led to the appearance of certain dissatisfaction among part of the people. On the other hand, during the seventies and eighties, when slogans saying we have done everything, we are moving forward, and so on, were used, relations between the nationalities were presented to some extent under that kind of pretense: Achievements were discussed more, while individual aspects, shortcomings, and failures to work things out by the party and local soviet bodies, state, and public institutions were silently ignored. Well, this failure to work things out also had an effect in these demonstrations and manifestations.

[Patiashvili] Conditions that were not altogether favorable came about for our republic this year, and restructuring therefore helped us get out of a difficult situation. At the beginning of January, you know, the natural disasters that occurred in the republic affected the economy, too. Acceleration and restructuring thus helped us emerge from the difficult situation, with the help of our fraternal union republics. If it had not been for this help, and if it had not been for the attitude existing in our country, it would have been much worse in our country. It seems to me, therefore, that the spirit now prevailing in our country and in our party organization, the attitude that is arising between nations, and the fact that the republic is one of many nationalities—I also want to add that up to 100 nationalities and ethnic groups live in the republic; education is provided in six languages in the republic; magazines and books are published in seven languages—in this kind of republic people live and prosper in a monolithic family and triumph over all the adversities that happened at the beginning of this year.

Pugo Speaks Further

LD310054 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 30 TASS—Restructuring in Latvia's economy and social life has brought about already this year not only the first positive results but also posed a number of serious questions to the republic's authorities, said Boris Pugo, first secretary of the Communist Party of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. He was addressing a press conference on the internationalist policy of the CPSU in Moscow today.

Boris Pugo recalled that over the past decade the republic's economy developed at a steady rate, but in 1987 in connection with the introduction of the system of state quality control and the transition of enterprises to new conditions of economic management, there has been a certain falling out of step in the progressive development, which had been eliminated only by August.

On the other hand, a substantive step forward was made in Latvia over the past two years in democratizing public life, Boris Pugo noted.

He said that there are outstanding questions in Latvia in connection with the learning of languages. Not only Letts live in the republic now, but also Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, Poles and Germans. This year a commission was set up on national and international relations under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the republic with the participation of scientists, workers in the arts, teachers and workers. The first meeting discussed the question of bilingualism in the republic, the learning of the Lettish and Russian languages.

Touching upon the question of the nationalist actions in Riga on August 23, Boris Pugo noted: Characteristically, a number of Western radio stations began talking about them long before the actions really took place. Calls were issued for disorder. This is nothing else but interference in our home affairs.

He recalled the old Lettish saying: "The wind blows from the West, but the sun rises in the East". "From ancient times our people felt most sincere liking for Russia, an overwhelming majority of the republic's population share these sentiments today", Boris Pugo noted.

Leadership Greetings to Veterans

LD311619 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1459 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow, 31 Oct (TASS)—We transmit the full text of the greetings from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers to the veterans of the CPSU, the participants of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the active fighters for the power of the soviets.

Dear Comrades!

Glorious veterans of the Leninist Guard!

Our country and the progressive people of the planet are marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—the most outstanding event of the 20th century, which heralded the beginning of a new era in the life of mankind. The October victory was won by the working class and all the working people of Russia under the leadership of the Bolshevik party headed by Vladimir Ilich Lenin. The October victory confirmed the triumph of principles of the organization of society unprecedented in the history of civilization: power of the working people and public ownership of the means of production. The October opened the path to internationalist unity and full equality and brotherhood of the peoples; it provided scope for collectivism and comradely mutual aid and the initiative and creative endeavor of the masses. It stepped into the international arena with a demand that remains topical today: Peace to the peoples!

As we celebrate the anniversary of the revolution, we are justly proud of our history. The glorious deeds of the participants in the Great October Socialist Revolution, the professional revolutionaries, the associates of V.I. Lenin, and the active fighters for Soviet power will never dim. The memory of the heroes of the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars and all the courageous patriots of the socialist fatherland who defended the achievements of October in most cruel fighting with imperialist interventionists and the internal counterrevolution is sacred in our hearts.

As we celebrate the anniversary of the revolution, we pay our tribute to all generations of builders of the new life, all those who turned our country from one that was backward in the economic and cultural sphere into a mighty world socialist power. Our present achievements contain the labor and talent and the revolutionary steadfastness and heroism of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia.

As we celebrate the anniversary of the revolution we look confidently toward the future. The party and the Soviet people are continuing the cause of October, implementing restructuring and the revolutionary renewal of all spheres of the life of society. This policy, consolidated by the 27th CPSU Congress, soundly unites the wide-ranging nature of our goals and the realism of our possibilities; it is ardently supported by the working people of the country and is being implemented through their energy.

The restructuring process is helping to overcome the stagnatory phenomena and conservatism and is filling sails of rejuvenation with fresh wind. A start has been made to effecting radical changes in the management of the economy and the economic mechanism. The social and cultural sphere and society's spiritual potential are being reinforced. Deepening democratism and glasnost are becoming inalienable parts of our life today. The transformations taking place in our country, which are revolutionary in essence, are dictated by a single striving toward a single objective: more socialism, more of the work begun by October.

The party and the Soviet state are persistently and consistently campaigning against the nuclear peril looming over mankind and for the security of the peoples. We advocate new thinking in international affairs and a stable peace on earth.

Dear Comrades!

We cordially congratulate you, participants in the October Revolution and party, war and labor veterans, on this festival of all the people. We express deep gratitude and thanks for your outstanding services to the motherland, for your feats of arms and labor prowess, and for your personal contribution to the development, strengthening and defense of the gains of October.

We are certain that you will continue to be in the ranks of the active fighters for the great ideals of communism, to help the party to raise the young in the glorious revolutionary, martial and labor traditions of the Soviet people, and to take part in implementing the strategy for the social and economic acceleration and restructuring of our society.

We wish you good health, happiness, and success in your noble efforts on behalf of the present and future generations, and for the sake of our socialist motherland.

Orthodox Church Issues GOSR Message

LD302158 Moscow TASS in English 1859 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 30 TASS—Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and all-Russia and the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church have addressed a message to the believers of the Russian Orthodox Church on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Seventy years ago, the message says, when the Great October Socialist Revolution was accomplished, believers, including the children of the Russian Orthodox Church, participated in the fight for the power by the people. Among the first decrees of the workers' and peasants' government formed after the revolution, the message says, were the decrees on peace and earth, the decree on separating the church from the state. That democratic act confirmed legislatively the principles of the freedom of religion and independence of the church from the government institutions.

The message also points out that "the Russian Orthodox Church has always and, especially during the years of the war against the German Nazi aggression, been engaged in patriotic and peace-making service, joining its efforts with the followers of other religions and all people of goodwill."

In recent years when humanity has been threatened with death from lethal nuclear weapons and the real danger of militarisation of outer space emerged, the Russian Orthodox Church redoubled its efforts to preserve the sacred gift of life on earth, the message points out. Under these conditions the message was adopted of Patriarch Pimen and the holy Synod in 1986 to all the believers "on war and peace in this nuclear age," on the need for ridding the earth of the nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons. It stressed that "the program for a gradual freeing of the earth from nuclear weapons by the end of this century is close to the heart of every orthodox believer."

In the light of the further steps on the ways of peace-making, the church message says, understanding in principle has been reached between the USSR and the USA on concluding an agreement on the elimination of a whole class of nuclear weapons which opens to humanity a new and a more optimistic perspective, fills the wish of the people of goodwill to come to nuclear-free world with a new contents.

The message which will be read out in the temples of the Russian Orthodox Church on the days of the holiday (November 7 and 8) urges all believers to give every spiritual support for the renovation and transformation of social relations in the Soviet Union, a further asserting of morality, the fundamentals of family life and a conscientious attitude to work for the benefit of the neighbours. The message ends with the dictum from the

Gospel: "And now my brothers, strive for perfection, listen to my appeals, agree with one another, live in peace—and the God of love and peace will be with you."

Soviet Delegation Arrives in Canada
LD011711 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Text] Ottawa November 1 TASS—At the invitation of mass organisations—the Canada-USSR and Quebec-USSR Societies, the Federation of Russian Canadians, and the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians—two delegations from the Russian Federation have come to Canada for the Days of the Soviet Union held to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The delegations include scientists, journalists, workers in art and culture, singers, dancers and musicians.

In two weeks the Soviet guests will visit Canada's largest cities, Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Edmonton and Vancouver. They will meet with the representatives of the Canadian public, deliver lectures and talks on the acceleration of the economic development and restructuring in our country and attend the celebrations of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Political & Social

Yeltsin Resignation Offer Reported

Politburo To 'Examine'

LD311714 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1622 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow, 31 Oct (TASS)—CPSU Central Committee Secretary Anatoliy Lukyanov, replying to a question at a press conference in Moscow today said:

"As has already been reported in the press, issues connected with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and some current tasks were examined at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum held on 21 October. Twenty-seven members of the Central Committee took part in the discussion. As at all recent plenums, the speeches were businesslike and constructive, and various opinions were contrasted. Boris Yeltsin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom also spoke. He touched mainly on issues of the style of work of the leading bodies of the Party and the progress of restructuring.

"His speech contained a number of assessments with which members of the Central Committee did not agree. In connection with the fact that Comrade Yeltsin addressed the request to be relieved from his work, it has been deemed expedient for the Politburo and the Moscow gorkom to examine in accordance with CPSU rules the issues that arose in connection with this statement.

"Concerning the plenum's assessment of the headway made by our country in the 70 post-October years and the tasks that confront us in the implementation of restructuring, here all—I emphasize all-the comrades who spoke and all the participants in the plenum, without exception, wholly supported the points and conclusions of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. In this case again and again the total unity of the Central Committee on all key issues of our party policy showed itself, a unity that reflects the cohesion of the Soviet people around the Communist party. Thus a report which has been unanimously approved by the whole body of the party's Central Committee will be presented to the grand meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. I, as a Central Committee secretary, cannot speak of any divergences or absence of unity in the Central Committee and its Politburo. There are no such divergences."

Yeltsin 'Still in Charge'

LD302209 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1917 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow, Oct 30 (TANJUG)—Boris Yeltsin is still in charge of the Moscow city party committee, an official Soviet spokesman told journalists here today. He was asked whether there was any truth in recent rumours that Yeltsin, a candidate member of the party Politburo and first secretary of the party city committee, had resigned.

The spokesman did not deny that Yeltsin had offered his resignation at the Central Committee plenum on October 21, but added that it was "evident from the latest issues of Moscow's *Pravda* that Yeltsin is in charge of the party city committee."

Unofficial sources claim that Yeltsin offered his resignation at the plenum dissatisfied with the way the perestroyka was being carried out. He felt that there was "plenty of sabotage" in its implementation, the sources say.

Shcherbitskiy Inspects Exhibition in Kiev

AU021200 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Oct 87 p 1

[RATAU report: "An Exhibition Dedicated to the 70th Anniversary of October"]

[Text] The Soviet Ukraine is developing in the fraternal family of union republics, within a united national economic complex. The achievements attained under Soviet rule in industry, agriculture, construction, science, and culture, and the prospects for the accelerated development of the republic in the current 5-year period are shown at an exhibition dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and of the establishment of Soviet rule in the Ukraine, which has opened at the Ukrainian SSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements and which is entitled "Holding the October Course, a Course for Acceleration."

On 24 October the exhibition was inspected by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, V.A. Masol, A.A. Titarenko, V.S. Shevchenko, and V.D. Kryuchkov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members. The visiting party also included deputy chairmen of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, and department chiefs in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Acceleration, restructuring, and democratization are the main themes of the exhibition. Its numerous exhibits, a large electrified map in the center of the pavilion, as well as a specially prepared documentary show the achievements of the republic's working people, and their part in implementing the program for the country's socioeconomic development.

The acceleration of scientific-technological progress is the main factor in intensifying communal production. The role played by scientists in this field is great. The institutions of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and

the republic's higher educational establishments are presenting their most promising projects at the exhibition. Among the exhibits is a general-purpose hand-operated instrument developed at the Ye.O. Paton Electrowelding Institute for soldering, welding, cutting, and coating in outer space; electronic and a spark welder simulators [trenazhery svarshchika]; new materials and the technologies for processing them, developed by the Institute for the Problems of Material Science; and an automated researcher's workplace [rabocheye mesto issledovatelya], which represents one of the advanced areas in the application of computer and information equipment. There are stands and materials showing how the republic's branch and regional comprehensive special-purpose scientific-technological programs are being implemented.

A special section dedicated to the technical reequipment and reconstruction of leading industrial branches and to the development of the machine building complex occupies a prominent place in the exhibition. The application of modern equipment, numerically controlled machines and adaptable automated production units, examples of which are on show at the exhibition, make it possible to significantly improve the quality of production. The exhibits show prospects for developing the fuel-and-power and the metallurgical complexes, the chemical industry, transport, and advanced methods of construction.

The role of new management methods, which enhance the interest of the workers and employees in the enterprises' results, is illustrated by the example of the work performed by the M.V. Frunze scientific and production machine building association in Sumi, whose collective was among the country's first to switch over to full economic accountability and self-financing.

Materials in the exhibition show in detail the work performed by the toilers of the agro-industrial complex, and demonstrate measures to improve the efficiency of farming and stockbreeding. The use of collective contracting on the basis of economic accountability has a beneficial impact on people's attitude to the matter at hand and the results of their work. This has been graphically confirmed by the work experience of the "Zarya Kommunizma" Kolkhoz in Rovno Oblast, chaired by Hero of Socialist Labor V.A. Plyutinskiy.

One part of the exhibition gives a good idea about the social changes taking place in the republic's towns and villages, about housing construction, the production of consumer goods, and the development of health services, education, and culture.

The exhibition shows the measures being taken in the republic to promote restructuring, democracy, and glasnost, to perfect the style and methods of work performed by party committees, and to raise the role of basic party organizations.

During the inspection, the need was noted to hasten the utilization of scientific and technical achievements in the republic's national economy, to apply new technological processes, and to organize serial production of modern machines and equipment. It was emphasized how important it was to find everywhere reserves to raise labor productivity, improve the quality of products, and consistently implement social programs.

More on USSR Supreme Soviet Session

Klyuyev's Reply to Deputies

PM291315 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 5

["Reply by V.G. Klyuyev, USSR Minister of Light Industry, to Inquiry From Deputies N.A. Nuriyeva, A.R. Korotenkov, and V.Z.Siytan" delivered at the 20 October evening joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies! Answering your inquiry, I would first of all like to say that light industry is indeed working with great difficulty. There is no doubt that Soviet people are right to make serious complaints about the poor quality, range, and shortage of certain commodities. It must be admitted in self-criticism that this situation is largely the result of slow progress being made in restructuring the work of the sector and its staff.

With the transition to the new economic mechanism, the necessary economic conditions are being created for the development of light industry enterprises. The positive impact of the new economic management methods has made it possible to take better account of the needs of different sections of the population. We have made a certain amount of progress with regard to improving production output in physical terms. And, although we are still short of production targets in terms of retail prices, this year has seen a 16% increase in the production of footwear and sewn goods for young people and a 20% increase in footwear for the elderly.

There has been a substantial increase in the output of knitwear, hosiery, and footwear for children. High-fashion goods selling at contract prices to the value of R2.5 billion have been produced—almost 3 times as much as last year. Nevertheless, the economic levers of the new economic mechanism have still not really been brought into play and there has yet to be a radical breakthrough in the sector's work.

The questions of improving the quality and broadening the range of our goods are causing us particular concern. There are a number of enterprises that have been producing shoddy goods for some time. These include the Kuznetsk and Tashkent footwear factories, the Baku and Kutaisi sewn goods associations, the Leninakan knitwear factory, and others.

Together with the party committee, the republic ministries, and production collectives, the collegium is currently drawing up and implementing measures to improve production quality at these enterprises. It has been decided to transfer them to the state acceptance system to give them practical assistance. Raw and other materials, equipment, and capital investments are now being allocated first and foremost for production and social needs. This work is being specially monitored. We have not succeeded in improving production efficiency everywhere; industrial potential is not being used to the full in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, for example, and it is precisely those republics that are responsible for a considerable proportion of all the contract shortfalls. Instead of producing everything they need themselves, a great deal of clothing and footwear has to be transported there from other parts of the country. And, even though there are spare manpower resources and raw materials in this region, the equipment use index is considerably below the union average.

We are well aware that the responsibility for making fuller use of production potential rests, of course, with the USSR Ministry of Light Industry. But we would like to ask the councils of ministers of these republics and local organs and deputies to give us some real assistance in resolving this important task.

There are many other shortcomings in the sector thatwe are trying to eliminate. But we cannot ignore the fact that the process of restructuring the industry's work is being slowed down by the weight of many unresolved problems that have built up over the decades. These include technical backwardness, lack of social facilities for workers, the fact that plans are regularly imbalanced, and the residue planning method. We still do not have the full support of our subcontractors; most important of all, chemical workers are not supplying us with sufficient quantities of essential dyes, fibers, and yarns, and workers in the agro-industrial complex are not supplying us with enough good-quality raw materials. Builders still regard light industry installations as of minor importance and fail to commission them on schedule. Only one-fifth of all equipment from our machine builders is up to world standards. Many enterprises are furnished with obsolete equipment, and as a result almost one in three workers in the sector—mainly women—is engaged in manual labor.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo has now decided that the defense and machine building industries should be involved in producing the modern equipment essential to the manufacture of attractive, fashionable clothing and footwear. We are greatly counting on their help. It is only a pity that this progressive equipment will not be available before the end of the 5-year period.

In order to eliminate shortages and improve production quality as rapidly as possible, programs are being implemented to retool and modernize enterprises in many regions of the country where light industry has the greatest preponderance. A number of textile enterprises are currently undergoing modernization in their finishing sections, which will make it possible to upgrade the consumer qualities of the fabrics, improve their color and design, and increase the output of shirting, raincoat material, and other blended fabrics in short supply to 1 billion square meters by 1990. Work to retool 26 sewn goods factories in all the union republics is in full swing. The retooling of two of them will be completed this year, and the rest next year. The output of fashionable, top-quality clothing will reach R3.5 billion at these enterprises by the end of the 5-year period.

The sector has recently devoted a great deal of attention to further developing and deepening international economic ties. Cooperation with socialist countries' light industry is being expanded.

Comprehensively mechanized enterprises have been commissioned in recent months in Moscow, Kaluga, and Tolyatti, which will produce a total of 6 million pairs of fashionable men's, women's, and children's footwear per year. On the initiative of Moscow footwear manufacturers, a movement has been broadly developed at these factories to assimilate new equipment ahead of schedule—by the first day of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The implementation of all our planned measures will make it possible to satisfy popular demand for quality clothing and footwear to a considerably greater extent in 1988. For example, the output of footwear for young people will increase by one-third and for elderly people by 27%. Commercial orders for school uniforms will be met in full and the output of women's hose will increase by 50 million pairs, or by almost 30%. With regard to the more expensive goods mentioned in the inquiry, I would like to inform deputies that the proportion of high-fashion and thus, of course, more expensive commodities is comparatively small at present and amounts to only 4.8% of the total production output in retail prices in the Ministry of Light Industry. At the same time, we cannot deny that there are cases where certain enterprises try— the old tradition—to increase their production volume by means of prices in their desire to up commodity output in money terms. The ministry is putting a stop to this work method and will continue to do so.

On the other hand, with the increased prosperity of the Soviet people the demand for high-fashion goods at contract prices is growing. The shortage of these goods is greatly criticized, particularly by young people, and we obviously cannot ignore the fact that the manufacture of top fashion innovations requires more expensive raw materials. The labor input is higher, cadres have to be more highly qualified, their wages are consequently higher, and the end result is higher prices for the goods in question.

We are well aware of just how responsible we are for supplying the population with essential commodities while taking different income levels into account. Consequently, we are organizing the work of enterprise collectives in such a way as to ensure that they produce good-quality, cheaper goods accessible to all categories of working people in addition to the more expensive goods.

Esteemed Comrade Deputies! In his speech in Leningrad, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke highly of the workers in Leningrad's light industry. We are sincerely pleased by their successes and achievements. Unfortunately, we are not in a position at present to say the same about the whole of our sector, but these kind words spoken by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution have inspired all the country's light industry workers. This gives them a good incentive to improve their work to supply Soviet people with high-quality consumer goods—which, in addition to housing and food, now constitutes one of the most urgent problems of restructuring. I must say that recently we have been particularly aware of an interested attention to the sector's needs on the part of the CPSU Central Committee and the government, so it is now up to us light industry workers to show great determination, achieve a breakthrough in our work, and gladden our country with our labor successes. (Applause).

Ukraine's Masol Speaks

PM301127 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Abbreviated version of speech by Deputy V.A. Masol of Odessa-Kievskiy Electoral Okrug, Odessa Oblast, chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, delivered at 19 October evening session of USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies! When drawing up the Ukrainian SSR state plan we proceeded from the fact that next year will be the first year that labor collectives start working under the provisions of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise, while the radical restructuring of national economic management will become extensive and comprehensive and affect every sphere of the national economy. One-third of our enterprises, which account for more than half of all commodity output, will be transferred to full economic accountability [polnyy khozraschet] and self-financing. This, of course, has spurred on many collectives and certain sectors to set tougher targets.

With the new economic mechanism in action, there will from next year be increased potential for resolving many social issues via the resources earned by the labor collectives themselves. Suffice it to say that the proportion of their capital investments in production and nonproduction construction in the total volume of resources will almost double (from 10.8 to 21%). In view of this, we plan to commission in 1988 2.5 million square meters of housing more than stipulated by the 5-year plan. However, we are well aware that the progress made in the dynamics of the indicators in this section of the plan will not in itself remove the seriousness of social development problems if we are unable to resolve two basic problems in this sphere to which we intend to devote serious attention. The first is to ensure that allocated resources are used in full. Unfortunately, not everything is in order in this respect at present.

The second problem is to back up the [monetary] resources allocated for the development of the nonproduction sphere with the necessary material and technical resources. The main point here is to prevent any imbalance and any disparity between targets and real potential. That is why the work to save resources currently under way in the Ukraine is so important: Next year alone we will be able to ensure that more than 70% of all production growth is the result of saved raw and other materials. The proportion of secondary resources in total resource consumption will be brought up to almost 13%.

We are taking a comprehensive approach to this very important task and have evolved a system of republic-level science and technology programs, which is making it possible for us to achieve substantial results. We believe that even at the stage of drawing up a project the kind of situation we found ourselves in this year should be avoided. The necessary material and technical resources had not been earmarked in good time for many start-up projects in the sociocultural sphere, and the question of these resources was resolved only in the last quarter of this year. Unfortunately, next year's situation does not look to be any better at the moment.

I would like to draw attention to the following fact. Many instructions and provisions earlier approved and currently in effect are frequently out of step with the requirements of the new decisions to improve the economic mechanism in construction and enhance the effectiveness of capital investments. For example, the present preferential financing of construction projects leads to an increase in estimated costs, failure to meet normative construction deadlines, and an uneven workload for construction organizations. Moreover, the number of authorizations needed for this kind of construction work is growing all the time. A worrying point is that many union ministries are being given preferential financing for next year and are including construction projects in the plan without any documentation on project estimates or the necessary equipment.

Comrades! As you are aware, the range of enterprises operating on the basis of full economic accountability and self-financing will be expanded considerably as of next year. The republic is now involved in a great deal of preparatory work, and we are aware that the fate of the new economic management methods largely depends on how soon we overcome formalism in practical work to

introduce these methods and how rapidly we make a break with long-standing habits, approaches, and stereotypes evolved over the years.

At present, as our initial experience shows, the development of the new form of economic activity is being held back by flaws in some normatives and the current system of financial, economic, and distributive relations. This places enterprises in an unequal position and undermines the foundations of economic accountability.

It is clear that we have not succeeded in fully overcoming the main shortcoming of our planning when setting normatives: to set targets on the basis of the level attained. While aware of the exceptional complexity of this problem, we nevertheless believe that a solution must not be delayed; the USSR Gosplan and USSR Ministry of Finance must develop a scientifically substantiated method of setting stable normatives regulating the whole of labor collectives' economic activity in the near future. (Applause)

Child Care Leave Allowance Extended

PM291113 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 87 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU"]

[Text] In fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and with a view to implementing measures planned by the party and government to strengthen state aid for families with children and create more favorable conditions for working women, permitting them to successfully combine motherhood with participation in work and social activity, the USSR Central Committee and AUCCTU have adopted a resolution to increase paid leave to care for a sick child from 7 to 14 days.

It is laid down that a medical certificate and an allowance for caring for a sick child below the age of 14 years will be issued for any period during which the child needs care not exceeding 14 days.

Payment for the first 7 days, and for single mothers, widows (widowers), divorced women (men), and draftees' wives the first 10 days, is to be made in accordance with existing legislation. Payment of the said allowance for the period relating to the 8th through the 14th day is made at the rate of 50% of the wage regardless of continuous service and membership of a trade union.

This procedure will be introduced as from 1 November 1987.

RFSFR Supreme Soviet Session Ends

LD302244 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 30 Oct 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today is the 2d day of the 6th session of the 11th convocation of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. The session started at 1000. Deputies and guests welcomed Comrades Vorotnikov, Gromyko, Zaykov, Ligachev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Chebrikov, Demichev, Dolgikh, Yeltsin, Talyzin, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Lukyanov, Razumovskiy, and Kapitonov with applause.

Deputies discussed the republic's plan and budget for 1988, the fulfillment of this year's plan and the fulfillment of the 1986 budget. Deputy Cherepanov, chairman of the Plan and Budget Commission, was given the floor to deliver a joint report on these issues.

The following deputies took part in the debates: Deputy Fateyev, second secretary of the Leningrad Party Oblast Committee; Deputy Kuprichev, lathe operator at the Kopeysk Machine-Building Works, Chelyabinsk Oblast; Deputy Pushkarev, chairman of the Pskov Oblast Ispolkom, chairman of the Commission for Construction and Construction Materials Industry; Deputy Garanina, deputy chief at Moscow Polyclinic No 98, secretary of the Commission for Health Care, Social Security, and Sports; Deputy Podolskiy, first secretary of the Tambov Oblast Party Committee; Deputy Filatov, chairman of the Presidium of the Karelian ASSR Supreme Soviet; Deputy Dementyeva, chief of the Livestock Breeding Sector of the Znamya Truda collective, Mordovian ASSR; Deputy Bogdanov, first secretary of the Magadan Oblast Party Committee; Deputy Georgiyevskiy, director of the Orel Experimental and Production economy of the scientific and production association for leguminous and groat crops; Deputy Mirgazyamov, chairman of the Bashkir ASSR Council of Ministers; Deputy Yegorova, weaver from the Krasnovolzhskiy Cotton Combine, Ivanovo Oblast; Deputy Zibrov minister of housing and civil construction in the RSFSR; Deputy Shalavina, director of secondary school No 31 from the town of Kamensk Uralskiy, Sverdlovsk Oblast; Deputy Karamayev, chairman of the Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast Soviet Ispolkom; Deputy Norka, second secretary [as heard] of the Omsk Oblast Party Committee; Deputy Solovyev, excavator operator from the Kemerovougol Association; Deputy Yarovoy, chairman of the Michurin collective, Novosibirsk Oblast.

At deputies' suggestions, the session unanimously adopted laws on the republic's plan and budget for the next year. The corresponding decisions were also adopted. Then the session endorsed decrees by the RSFSR Presidium Supreme Soviet and adopted appropriate laws and decisions. Deputy Naumov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, replied to the deputies' inquiries, which were made earlier, about the difficult situation that has arisen in the

production of baby food. Deputy Dmitriyeva, who then took the floor, expressed her dissatisfaction with the reply from the State Agro-Industrial Committee and submitted a proposal to develop additional measures on this issue. Taking this speech into consideration, the Supreme Soviet adopted a decision envisioning the development and implementation of the appropriate measures for increasing production, widening choice, and improving the quality of baby food.

On this, the session ended its work.

Budget Allows Growth

LD312124 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow, 29 oct (TASS)—The laws on the state plan for the social and economic development and budget of the Russian Federation for 1988, adopted in the Kremlin at the session of the Supreme Soviet of this, the largest Soviet republic, which ended today, provide for rates of growth in expenditure on social programs which are unprecedentedly high for Russia.

Many articles in the expenditure part of the budget for the republic demonstrate a strengthening of the social orientation of the plan. For example, the average monthly wage of workers and employees will increase by approximately 10% by comparison with that index for the beginning of the current year. With the overall growth of the expenditure part of the budget by 6.6%, for the development of education, culture, health care, sport, and also for satisfying the cultural and spiritual needs of the population 10.6% more resources have been allocated than this year.

The plan also introduces substantial changes in the area of the economic activity of production enterprises. As from the beginning of next year the basic source of their finance will be profit, half of which is being put at the disposal of labor collectives, That is not only an effective stimulus for the intensive path of developing the economy. By allowing the social funds of enterprises to be increased considerably this innovation is called upon to play an important role in improving the welfare of the population of Russia. According to the position on 1 October this year its numerical strength reached 146.1 million people.

Komsomol's Mironenko Interviewed

LD011140 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0545 GMT 29 Oct 87

["Youth" program, devoted to the Komsomol anniversary; Interview with Komsomol Central Committee First Secretary Viktor Mironenko by journalist Mikhail Smirnov]

[Excerpts] [Smirnov] We talk of restructuring in the Komsomol. My personal impression, the view that I have formed—and I have had occasion to chat with the Komsomol aktiv at the Zil motor vehicle works—is that we are restructuring in the midst of battles, so to speak, for openness, honesty and frankness—they are not synonyms, they are all different things—battles for independence, perhaps; and that this running restructuring is going very painfully. Might it not be the case that the youth organization is lagging behind the general pace of the country and restructuring in general?

[Mironenko] I don't think it is. We have lagged behind very badly—this was last year, before the 20th Komsomol Congress. I think that at the 20th Komsomol Congress we took a very considerable step forward, albeit on a theoretical level for the moment, as is naturally the case with congress documents. We have created the conditions for a very substantial and radical turn in direction in the work of our organization, a turn toward life, glasnost and democratization—the things you are talking about. By saying it is one thing, and doing it in practice is another. We need the sort of mechanisms for the functioning of the organization which would enable the initiative of primary organizations and all the others to come to full fruition. For years and decades the Komsomol worked in a situation when there was a structure of strict regulation from the top downward, with directives only being accepted from the top and no instructions at all from below—this structure exists, and it must first be broken, it must be broken, discarded and then replaced by something new. [passage omitted]

The leaders of our government have already held conferences of ministers and leaders of the union republics. The question of setting up a computer center has practically now been resolved. It will be a special center that will work on and develop interesting experience of setting up computer clubs, and so on. In this period we have also taken part in the drawing up of documents connected with the school reform. We managed to get a section on pupil self-management entered in the School Charter, the draft of which was published in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*. During this period, in the summer, we managed, for the first time in history, to get the Ministry of Higher Education, together with the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee, to adopt a document on priority measures to develop students' self-government in higher educational establishments. [passage omitted]

[Smirnov] Can everyone at the Komsomol Central Committee stand the pace? Whenever I phone there is no one there, they've all gone away, everyone keeps going away somewhere. It has somehow become very difficult to find people on the spot.

[Mironenko] As far as your question about whether everyone can stand the pace is concerned, people are mainly young, although in the Komsomol Central Committee they may not be that young—close on 30 and over 30. But people work with varying degrees of intensity, of course. It is very difficult to lose the habit of established stereotypes and established ideas. You know the most

terrible thing? The fact that, in my view, even Komsomol workers have not grasped deeply the decisions of the 20th congress. They have failed to understand the main thing, the biggest thing that occurred at the 20th Komsomol Congress—that the congress demanded that practically the whole organization should be turned upside down, metaphorically speaking. That is, it is an organization that must apprehend initiative from below and spread it throughout the levels of our organization. But many people are not ready for this work—they are still sitting and waiting to hear what they will be told, what will be demanded of them. No matter—the process is underway.

I believe that the last 5 or 6 months were very difficult but not the most difficult. The most difficult work is ahead. The most difficult thing is to get down to the job in hand. Everything we have now planned, everything—whether we wanted to or not that we were forced to spend time on, developing this new work mechanism, the new principles of the functioning of our organization—will now have to be implemented through the awareness of people, from the rank-and-file Komsomol member to secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee. It will now have to be introduced at all the levels of our organization, our structure. This will be the most difficult thing. It will be a psychological and structural break in large measure, and it will mean a rejection of former very habitual but primitive and ineffective working methods in our organization.

Dissident Arrives in Vienna on Way to Israel
AU011806 Paris AFP in English 1759 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Text] Vienna, Nov 1 (AFP)—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's reform policy of glasnost (openness) is limited to Moscow and Leningrad, Soviet dissident Vladimir Lifschitz said on arrival here Sunday from Moscow en route for Israel.

The 46-year-old engineer and mathematician said he was "pessimistic about the future of glasnost", a spokesman for the Jewish community here said.

The Soviet secret service, the KGB and sections of the leadership were opposed to it, he said.

Mr Lifschitz, who was arrested in Leningrad early last year and sentenced to 14 months in a labor camp for "defamation of the Soviet Union", applied for an exit visa to Israel in 1981 and publicly asked to be "stripped of his Soviet citizenship" in 1984.

He was accompanied by his wife Anna, his son Boris, 20, his daughter Masha, 11, and his mother-in-law.

Murmansk Development Plan Approved
LD051832 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 5 Oct 87

[Text] The presidium of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR has confirmed the draft general plan for the development of Murmansk to 2010. The plan's fulfilment will help to solve the problems which have piled up there and which were pointed out during the visit to Murmansk by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plan provides for a population increase to 530,000. An extra 5,000,000 square meters of housing will be built for them. In practice, this means that every family will have a separate apartment; and in the new, improved house designs, particular attention has been paid to all-round construction. Schools and preschool institutions and health complexes will be built alongside the housing. Mass transport service between residential and industrial areas of the town is to be improved. A leisure zone will be set up on the shores of Kola Bay, where the residential areas are located. Efficient measures against air pollution are sketched out. It is planned to end pollution of Kola Bay by untreated sewage and industrial waste and to install a circulating [oborotnyy] system for water supply to industrial interprises; to recultivate quarries and to set up sanitary zones in industrial and communal enterprises. A package of measures for preserving the landscape is also planned.

Gorbachev's Book Released, Assessed
LD011600 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—The head of a press center covering activities on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Nikolay Shishlin, described Mikhail Gorbachev's book "Perestroyka: New Thinking For Our Country And The World" as a sincere and courageous book permeated by a spirit of glasnost, or openness.

Shishlin was speaking at a news conference at the press center, where the Russian-language book was formally released today.

Mikhail Nenashev, chairman of the State Committee for Publishing and Book Trade, said at the same ceremony:

"Books, just like people, have a remarkable biography of their own and are remembered for long if they reflect the spirit and distinctive reatures of their time and offer a glimpse into the future. There is every reason to reckon Mikhail Gorbachev's work among such books.

"It is very symbolic that it has been published right before the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution when we are summing up the results of the path covered by the party and the people and pondering the content of the sweeping change under way in the country.

"The most important thing in Mikhail Gorbachev's book is his appeal to the people and his tremendous belief in the people."

Nenashev said the book answered the questions of why perestroyka was needed, what it rejected and what it affirmed. He added it made a point of stressing that perestroyka was not a disappointment in socalism and in its goals and ideals as claimed by some people in the West, but aimed instead to bring about the vast possibilities of socialism.

Nenashev quoted the book as saying: "We use socialist gauges to judge all our successes and mistakes. Those hoping that we shall veer off the socialist path will be bitterly disappointed."

The book, he continued, emphasized the democratic renewal of society as the main thing in perestroyka and said that the Soviet Communists were convinced of the success of such a complex revolutionary social process as perestroyka because it would open scope for tremendous, unprecedented initiative and creative endeavor by millions of soviet people.

Comprehensively substantiating the idea that the new manner of thinking gave priority to universally shared values over national or regional interests, the book, Nenashev said, stressed that the states beloning to different social systems could and should cooperate in the name of world peace and for the sake of resolving global problems.

He quoted Mikhail Gorbachev as saying in his book also that all nations were in the same boat and could drown or reach safe ground only together and that disarmament talks were a no-lose arrangement since everybody was to win, or otherwise everybody would lose.

Nenashev said that the book had generated tremendous interest and its English-language edition, issued by Harper and Row publishers, would be launched in Washington tomorrow.

According to the Soviet Copyright Agency, more than 20 major publishing firms in Western Europe, the Americas and Asia, Nenashev said, had acquired the rights to bring the book out in November and December.

"This is only a beginning," he continued, adding that the book would be simultaneously published in many foreign newspapers and magazines.

Marxist Institute Head Criticizes Stalin

LD011653 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1015 GMT on 31 October carries a 45-minute discussion program entitled "Political Conversations: The Victory of October—The Main Event of the 20th Century." The program consists of a discussion by a panel chaired by commentator Vladimir Konyukhov, candidate of historical sciences, with panel members Georgiy Lukich Smirnov, director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Professor Rudolf Grigoryevich Yanovskiy, director of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee and doctor of philosophical sciences.

The discussion focusses on the historical role of the October Revolution and the continuation of the revolutionary process which began in 1917. The participants discuss the changes brought about by the revolution: the establishment of the first socialist state, the elimination of all that was obsolete in the old system, agrarian reform, the solution of national problems. They agree Lenin's personality was a crucial factor in the success of the revolution. Restructuring is a continuation of Lenin's work, the participants agree. Marx is quoted on the importance of self-criticism.

Talking about the removal of "blank spots" in Soviet history, Georgiy Smirnov says they have to reread many things and look at history from a higher level of development. "On a critical level, naturally Stalin deserves critical scrutiny; and all that we have done is connected with his work in one way or another," Smirnov says. "I want to say that when we are arguing about Stalin's activities, and those of his contemporaries, we are talking above all about the activity of the party, about the activity of people, about what they did."

Konyukhov asks what lessons of Soviet history the participants would put as the first essential conditions for the restructuring and renewal of society. Smirnov says: "Well, if we are talking of lessons, I think, also tying up the ends of our previous topic, they are of course the sad lessons of the repressive policy, the repressive methods, the rule of which was cultivated by Stalin. The party has already said that we will never forget the repressions of 1937-38. We will not forgive them. That must always be remembered; and that period must be approached, with all its complexity. From that, I think, ensues the second most important lesson: that is, the lesson of democracy."

Yanovskiy then says the increasing role of science must be acknowledged. A sense of history is very important, and the party must also learn from the experiences of the other socialist countries, including China, he concludes.

History of Collectivization Examined

PM301631 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Danilov "Correspondence on Historical Themes": "At the Origin of the Kolkhozes"; first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction; boldface passages as published]

[Text] We regard the transformation of agriculture as one of the most complex and difficult stages of socialist building in our country. It is no coincidence that this subject is particularly "esteemed" by Western commentators on Soviet history, who lay claim to their own explanation of the facts and events. Concentrating on mistakes and excesses in the implementation of collectivization, they try to cast doubts on the advisability of this historic step and, moreover, to discredit the very idea of socialist cooperativization. "It would be advisable," A. Kopysov, a reader from the city of Kungur, writes, "to devote a 'Correspondence on Historical Themes' page to this topic and to describe how collectivization took place and what the overall result of this restructuring is."

Fulfilling A. Kopysov's request, which other readers echo, the editorial board today gives a platform to Doctor of Historical Sciences V.P. Danilov, staffer of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History. He is the author of several books devoted to the Soviet countryside, and comprehensive research has been carried out under his scientific leadership into the history of collectivization.

You are quite right, Comrade Kopysov, when you emphasize in your letter the need for a historically correct explanation of such a very important event in our recent past as the process of the collectivization of agriculture. Its dramatic character and its far from simple economic and social consequences arouse disputes and, unfortunately, quite extreme judgments are also voiced with unprecedented thoughtlessness. In dealing with the history of collectivization, I think we must first of all ask: What is the historical meaning of the agrarian revolution carried out by the Great October Socialist Revolution?

For a long time Russia was, with reason, called a peasant country—on the eve of October and even a decade after its victory more than four-fifths of the entire population lived in the countryside and were associated with agriculture. The revolution not only abolished the gentry's land ownership but also decisively undermined the kulaks' economic and political positions and gave the initial quite powerful fillip to the organization of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. However, the tasks of the socialist transformation of agriculture were not resolved and, naturally, could not be resolved in the course of the revolution. The immediate result of the revolution in the countryside was merely the transfer of practically all agricultural land (up to 98%) to the peasantry to use for free, on the mandatory condition that they cultivate it by individual labor. On this basis, on the one hand, a sharp increase in the number and, consequently, in the proportion of farms of medium economic capacity took place at the expense of a reduction in the number of poor peasants' farms. On the other, there was an increase in the number of well-to-do and especially kulak farms. The increase in the number of middle peasants meant the affirmation of the small-scale peasant farming system.

This introduction to our conversation is necessary in order to give a better picture of the overall situation. Now, let us move on to certain most typical questions from readers. **Statements have appeared in the press concerning thetremendous success of agriculture in the period of the New Economic Policy [NEP]. It is reported, for instance, that in just 3 years (1922-1925) the production of grain and livestock products rose by one-third and that of sugar beets by a factor of almost 5. It is also said that the three-field system ceased to exist in Russia as a crop farming system by the mid-twenties, and, with references to the past, it is stated that previously our country exported grain but now it is obliged to import it.**

In my opinion, this is a typical case where people who are dissatisfied with the present state of affairs sometimes begin to embellish the past. The growth rates for agriculture in 1922-1925 were indeed impressive; however, at the same time a very important detail must be stressed. These were growth rates in a process of recovery from the very lowest point. And the 1921 level is taken as that point. The spring of the following year, 1922, was the most terrible time of famine when human exhaustion and mortality and livestock losses reached their height.

In 1925 agriculture on the whole reached only prewar indicators. But, for instance, the yield of sugar beet, despite the "crazy" growth rates (and what else can you call a fivefold increase in output in some 3 years) amounted to only 70% of the 1913 level. Therefore to use the data of 1922-1925 to prove small-scale farming's alleged former capabilities—is at the very least ridiculous, such computations can only mislead people uninformed of the true situation. Statistics concerning the dynamics of gross grain harvests provide a clear idea of the real growth of small-scale peasant agriculture. In 1925 they totaled 724.6 million quintals, in 1926 they rose to 768.3 million quintals, in 1927 they dropped to 723 million quintals, in 1928 they again rose slightly—to 733.2 million quintals—and in 1929 they again fell, to 717.4 million quintals. As we can see, with the end of the period of restoration of the national economy grain production fluctuated at a level scarcely higher than the prewar level, and this was bound to be a problem for a society embarking on the path of confident industrialization. The growth in production of industrial crops also continued in the second half of the twenties, but the rate was moderate and unstable. The situation in livestock farming was appreciably better: The number of livestock increased in 1925-1928 by approximately 5% per year. The small peasant farm had certainly not exhausted its potential for development, but this potential was extremely limited.

The same can also be said of the claim that by the mid-twenties the three-field system had become a thing of the past as a crop-farming system. In reality, according to data for 1927, the multifield crop rotations occupied only around 20 million hectares out of total plowland of more than 180 million hectares. Thus almost nine-tenths of the arable land, as can be seen from these figures, was cultivated according to the three-field system.

Lastly—with regard to grain imports. The purchase of grain abroad is, of course, a bitter reproach to our modern agriculture. But to be fair, it is necessary to note that Russia never had a grain surplus, that is, grain which it did not need for itself. Grain exports from Russia were always implemented on the notorious principle "we will be underfed, but we will export."

Sometimes you may hear doubts as to the class stratification of the peasantry in the twenties, since land was divided among peasant farms on an egalitarian basis. The poor peasant, the middle peasant, and the kulak in the prekolkhoz countryside—to what extent were they real social figures?

Indeed, we have recently often encountered the idea of the countryside of the twenties as some "happy peasant Muravia," a "peasant Atlantis" where universal equality, labor cooperation, and contentment reigned and where only the inveterate loafer and the diehard drunkard violated the unity of the "mir." These ideas do not correspond in any way to historical facts.

In 1927, a decade after the revolution, there were nearly 25 million small-scale and very small farms in the countryside. On the territory of the RSFSR, for example, 28.3% of peasant farms did not have draft animals, 31.5% did not have plowing equipment, and 18.8% did not have cows. In the Ukraine the number of farms without draft animals totaled 38.3%. At the same time the 4% or so of farms representing the opposite social group had at that time 3-4 or more draft horses each. They owned 15-20% of the means of production and approximately one-third of all peasant agricultural machinery. The poor peasants could not live off their own farms and were obliged to lease land, work for the well-to-do peasants and the kulaks, and lease draft animals and equipment from them.

The growth of kulak farms was especially marked in 1925-1927, which immediately lent extreme topicality and acuteness to the problems of the class stratification of the countryside. The sharpest disputes revolved around the suitability of the categorization of peasant farms according to sown area and class, in particular around the question "what is the point at which the [category of] kulak begins?": Eight desyatina? Ten? Twenty-five? Arbitrarily chosen criteria gave very diverse, often fantastic definitions of the number of kulak farms. The leaders of the left deviationists in the party, the so-called new opposition, fanned the "kulak danger."

In this case it is necessary, in the interests of truth, to rely on statistics—the economic survey concerning the grain and feed balance conducted by the Worker-peasant Inspectorate Central Control Commission and materials from two Soviet of People's Commissars Commission reports on the burden of taxation in the years 1924/25-1926/27. According to data from the Soviet of People's Commissars Commission, the number of entrepreneurial farms (kulak farms) grew in 3 years from 728,000 to 896,000, and the proportion of them among the total number of peasant farms rose from 3.32 to 3.93%. The 1927 indicators show the high point of the kulaks in the entire postrevolutionary period. The offensive against the kulaks after the 15th party congress markedly reduced the proportion of them.

Let us note this figure—3.93%. There have recently been attempts to claim that the proclaimed slogans of eliminating the kulaks as a class led effectively to the elimination of the peasants as a class. Such statements contradict the actual facts. How in the course of the socialist transformations the exploiter stratum in the countryside was eliminated is quite another question.

Of course, under more favorable external and internal conditions, as confirmed by the experience of cooperativizing peasant farms in other socialist countries, this task can easily be resolved by primarily economic means.

Under conditions of acute exacerbation of the class struggle, especially as happened in our country during the revolution and civil war, methods of direct and forcible expropriation of means of production gained overwhelming importance. The term "dispossession of the kulaks" arose at precisely this time, although it should be stressed that this was then a means of punishment for anti-Soviet activities and definitely not a means of resolving the social task of eliminating kulak exploitation in the countryside.

Furthermore, neither in the years of "war communism," nor during the NEP period was the path to the new society closed for the kulak, despite the class struggle, which continued in the countryside in various forms and with varying degrees of severity. Kulak farms had the right to join agricultural cooperatives of all types, including kolkhozes.

The question of the kulaks' fate radically changed at the end of the twenties, when there was a sharp exacerbation in the class struggle in the countryside in connection with the grain procurement crisis. In summer 1929 the decision was made to prohibit the admission of kulak families to kolkhozes and this immediately drew a clear line between the kulaks and all the peasantry and hardened their opposition. The terror against kolkhoz organizers and activists, the burning of kolkhoz property, and the organization of anti-Soviet revolts—this all occurred.

But something else also occurred—the artificial exacerbation of this struggle, caused by the hopelessness of the situation in which a considerable mass of people found themselves.

Precise data only exist with regard to the number of kulak families exiled to remote regions of the country: In 1930 115,231 families were subjected to this, and in 1931 265,795 families. A certain proportion of kulak families (approximately 200-250,000) managed to "dispossess themselves," that is, eliminate their property and go away to the cities or to construction sites.

Let us note here: All these data convincingly show how ridiculous it is to elevate the struggle against the kulaks into a process of the elimination of the class of peasants. But let us return to the question of the kulaks' influence in the twenties on the socioeconomic situation in the countryside.

At this time the kulaks certainly remained a real social force in the countryside. This was both a manifestation and a result of the objective trend of the countryside's spontaneous commodity capitalist development under NEP conditions. The question is natural: What did this tendency in the development of agriculture lead to and was, say, the [private] farmer path of development feasible for it?

In my opinion, the countryside of the twenties contained neither the path to the patriarchal "country of Muravia" which Nikita Morgunok set off to seek, nor the highway to farming in the U.S. or Canadian mold. Centuries of serfdom had had an impact: The extreme economic weakness of peasant farms, the powerful strata of patriarchal attitudes, natural isolation, and the orientation toward a consumer rather than a market economy precluded rapid and efficient modernization in the capitalist manner.

It is well known that the basic principles for the socialist reorganization of the countryside were determined by Lenin's cooperatives plan. What was its main strategy?

The first experiments in creating crop-farming artels began in Russia in the 1870's. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution truly breathed new life into this idea. From the first weeks of the revolution the spontaneous organization of crop-farming communes and artels began in various localities. The very fact of the revolution promoted the growth of the collectivist movement in the countryside. However, even in the first steps there were attempts to resolve the tasks of the socialist transformation of agriculture by means of a revolutionary "assault."

The 8th Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress, held in March 1919, devoted a great deal of attention to the tasks and methods of the socialist transformation of small-scale peasant agriculture. Pondering the countryside's road to socialism, V.I. Lenin said in fall 1918 that "...attempting to introduce by decrees and statutes social cultivation of the land would be utterly absurd." He stressed that this task must be resolved "...patiently, by a series of gradual transitions, awakening the consciousness of the working section of the peasantry and advancing only as this consciousness awakens."

Vladimir Ilich resolutely condemned the excesses: "**To act by violence here is to ruin the whole matter.** Protracted education work is necessary here... The task here boils down not to expropriating the middle peasantry, but to considering peasants' special living conditions and learning from the peasants the methods of moving on to a better system and **not daring to command!" The congress' resolutions defined the main principles of collectivization: voluntariness, persuasion by practical example, creation of material conditions, spontaneous initiative. These very important ideas and resolutions were developed in the future in Lenin's works devoted to the NEP and, in total, formed the cooperatives plan for moving the peasants onto the path of socialism. The voluntary nature of cooperativization provided the opportunity to create associations of any type. Indeed during the twenties all forms of cooperatives grew simultaneously, albeit on different scales.**

The 15th All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress, which adopted a decision on the policy of collectivization and the offensive against the kulaks, went down in the history of the party as a landmark in the implementation of Lenin's cooperatives plan. How could it emerge that in the course of implementing its decisions serious errors and excesses were committed?

Let us say straightaway: The course of collectivization outlined by the party congress was indeed elaborated in complete and strict accordance with Lenin's cooperatives plan. The congress resolution "On Work in the Countryside" said openly:

"The experience of past years, and recent years in particular, has totally confirmed the correctness of Lenin's cooperatives plan whereby socialist industry will lead small-scale peasant farming along the path of socialism by means of cooperatives." The congress categorically opposed any measures of administrative pressure and coercion with regard to the peasants.

The appeal to create collective farms was greeted with approval by the progressive section of the poor peasantry. Ten years' experience of living as "free masters on free land" had convinced them of the lack of any real prospect of tearing themselves away from poverty and exploitation on their own. The poorest peasants were the social force which saw in the kolkhozes a way out of their disastrous situation and which supported both total collectivization and the elimination of the kulaks.

In 1928-1929 the scale of state aid to kolkhozes—credit, machinery and tool supplies, tax concessions, and allocation of better land—sharply increased. Party, soviet,

and cooperative organizations began great work in the countryside to propagandize and implement the course of collectivization. **The number of kolkhozes increased from 14,800 to 57,000 between June 1927 and June 1929 and the proportion of peasant farms encompassed by them increased from 0.8% to 3.9%. The growth of the kolkhoz movement was quite rapid, but this fact still could not serve as evidence of changes in the views of the majority of peasants, since, as mentioned above, the poor peasants were the ones who initially joined the kolkhozes. But in the fall of 1928 the first kolkhozes to unite the population of whole villages arose. By summer 1929 the number of such kolkhozes in the RSFSR grain belt reached 332, and 273 in the Ukraine, which made it possible to speak of the appearance of the first signs of change in the sentiments of the middle peasants.**

At the same time serious shortcomings in kolkhoz building had also emerged by that time. The pace of collectivization began to outstrip the country's real potential for financing farms, supplying them with technology, and training the required cadres. Instances of bureaucratic planning from above, the "imposition" of targets, "shock campaigns," and unrealistic promises were recorded. The forcing of the pace of collectivization became increasingly frank and intense. Under pressure from above, workers at local level often began to think that in the countryside in general and in organizing kolkhozes and combating the kulaks in particular "it is better to go too far than not far enough."

The transfer of agriculture to the path of large-scale socialized production began to be regarded not as an independent task of society's socialist reorganization, but as a means of resolving other tasks in the shortest possible time, particularly the grain problem. This was a fundamental deviation from Lenin's cooperatives plan.

As from the first months of 1928 emergency measures began to be widely used in grain procurements. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the measures were not only applied to kulak farms but also increasingly affected the interests of the middle sector of the peasantry. Violations of legality evoked open protests from peasants.

The 1st 5-Year Plan, approved by the 16th party conference and adopted by the 5th Congress of the Soviets, planned to cooperativize up to 85% of peasant farms, including 18-20% in kolkhozes. The general basis for all transformations both in the city and in the countryside was to be considerable growth in agricultural production as the predominant sector of the economy, which presupposed not only developing kolkhoz and sovkhoz building but also boosting small-scale peasant farming. Unfortunately the adopted 5-year plan began to be revised with a view to accelerating the schedules for collectivization in summer and fall of that year. The country's main grain-producing regions—the North Caucasus, the lower and middle Volga, and the Ukrainian steppe—passed decisions on fulfilling the 5-year plan targets in 1 year.

The grounds for the accelerated rate of collectivization were given in Stalin's article "The Year of the Great Breakthrough," published 7 November 1929. He erroneously considered that the slight changes in the mood of the middle peasants indicated universal readiness on the part of the middle peasants to embark on the path of kolkhoz life, when in reality the shift in attitudes toward the kolkhoz had only just begun to take shape. By stating in the article that a "decisive victory" had been won in the socialist transformation of agriculture, Stalin oriented party organizations toward accelerating the implementation of total collectivization.

Under these conditions the discussion of the tasks of further developing kolkhoz building at the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee Plenum held in November that year was simple. The plenum's decisions acknowledged serious difficulties in the process of collectivization. However, the overall conclusion was drawn in the spirit of Stalin's article. "The kolkhoz movement," the resolution said, "is already setting individual oblasts the task of total collectivization."

Meanwhile reports by Central Committee members at the plenum itself and signals from local level that this conclusion was premature contained extremely alarming facts regarding haste and coercion in organizing kolkhozes.

The plenum heard a letter from Baranov—chairman of the Council of Peasant Collective Farms in Nizhnevolzhskiy Kray's Khoperskiy Okrug—the first district to be completely collectivized.

"Local organs are carrying out a shock campaign system," he wrote. "The entire work of organization has taken place under the slogan 'Who can go further.' At local level the okrug's directives were sometimes interpreted as the slogan: 'Anyone who does not join the kolkhoz is an enemy of Soviet power.' ...There were cases where kolkhozes were organized by a meeting resolution and those who refused to join were ordered to submit a special statement of why they were refusing. Instances occurred of sweeping promises of tractors and credits. 'They will provide everything—join the kolkhoz.' "At present the sum total of these factors produces formally a level of collectivization of 60% and maybe, at the time of writing, 70%... If we do not now take measures to strengthen these kolkhozes the cause may be compromised. The kolkhozes will begin to collapse. It must be taken into account that livestock is being sold off in the okrug on an immense scale..."

Apropos this letter Stalin riposted at the plenum: "So do you want to organize everything 'beforehand'?" But in spring 1930 Stalin had to acknowledge what had come of the disregard for "advance" organization. The main thing was that the forcing of the pace of collectivization meant yet another deviation from the principles of Lenin's cooperatives plan.

The speech by Molotov, who was then Central Committee secretary for work in the countryside, at the plenum put forward the demand that collectivization be implemented in the "main agricultural regions" within 1 year and in the North Caucasus even sooner—"in the summer of 1930." Small wonder that the country's grain-producing regions began to adopt decisions regarding on implementing collectivization in 1930—even by the spring—and to proclaim the slogan of "frenzied rates of collectivization."

One attempt to regulate the course of collectivization and take account of the real situation was the recommendations from the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee Politburo Commission on Questions of Collectivization, made up of the leaders of a number of kray and oblast party organizations and a number of central organs.

The draft resolution which it elaborated proposed resolving the task of collectivizing "the huge majority of peasant farms" during the first 5-year plan: in the main grain-producing regions over 2-3 years, and in the consumer belt over 3-4 years. The completion of collectivization in economically backward national republics was left to the second 5-year plan. The commission recommended considering the agricultural artel as the main form of kolkhoz building.

On the basis of the commission's proposals the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee adopted a resolution "On the Rate of Collectivization and Measures of State Aid for Kolkhoz Building" which, as proposed, divided the grain-producing regions into two zones according to the timetable for the completion of collectivization. But these timetables were drastically shortened as a result of amendments introduced by Stalin. Provisions concerning the degree of socialization of livestock and equipment and the procedure for forming indivisible funds and so on were excluded from the resolution. The Model Statutes for the Agricultural Artel, which were in any case published after great delay—only 6 February 1930—contained no recommendations on these questions either.

The work of explanation and organization among the masses was replaced by flagrant pressure, threats, and demogagic promises. They began to expropriate not only the kulaks, but also the middle peasants—those who still refused to join kolkhozes. Flagrant distortions were committed in collectivizing the means of production.

Finally, under pressure of circumstances, urgent measures were adopted. It must be noted that, of course, what was happening in the countryside during the first stage of total collectivization was widely known. Over the course of 6 months 90,000 letters of complaint and protest containing accounts of outrages and addressed to Stalin and Kalinin were received from the countryside. Nevertheless pressure on local organizations continued to grow. In his "Reply to Comrades From Sverdlovsk," published 10 February, Stalin demanded that "the work of collectivization be stepped up in regions which are not totally collectivized" in order to prevent the self-liquidation of kulak farms and "squandering" of their property. Only in the second half of February 1930 did the party Central Committee issue directives on ending the haste in organizing kolkhozes and ceasing expropriation where complete collectivization had still not begun and on the need to consider local conditions in the national republics. Soon, 2 March, *Pravda* published reworked Model Statutes for Agricultural Artels which considered peasants' capabilities and sentiments. The same issue also printed an article by Stalin entitled "Dizzy With Success," which condemned the distortions and stressed the need to observe the principles of voluntary collectivization. All the responsibility for the "distortions," "bureaucratic decrees," and "unworthy threats with regard to peasants" was laid on local workers, who were accused of "bungling," "self-importance and conceit," and "adventurist attempts to resolve all questions of socialist building 'in a trice.'"

In March-April 1930 the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee adopted a number of most important documents designed to overcome distortions in collectivization and to normalize the overall situation in the countryside. "Paper" kolkhozes and forcibly created kolkhozes disappeared. By August of that year, when the exodus of peasants from farms ended, kolkhozes embraced 21.4% of peasant farms. This figure illustrates that by then a very considerable proportion of the peasantry already linked their fate with the kolkhozes and that their reinforcement and development could and must be the determining factor in the socialist transformation of agriculture.

The excessive forcing of the pace of the collectivization process continued in 1931-1932 also. At the same time the complete futility of individual farming became quite obvious: The general situation of radical agricultural transformation, increasing taxation, and the growing volume of state procurements, which were becoming increasingly necessary, also had an impact. The process of socializing livestock was not regulated until spring 1932, which greatly damaged livestock farming. Over the years of the first 5-year plan the number of livestock in the country was halved.

The difficulties of establishing life within the kolkhoz and labor organization and distribution were great. The requisite experience of resolving these most complex questions did not exist. The situation was aggravated by the spread of compulsory procurement methods to the

kolkhozes. All this led in 1931-1932 to a slump in production and thus in procurements. A famine which cost many lives broke out in winter and spring 1932-1933 in rural areas of the Ukraine, the Don, the North Caucasus, the lower and middle Volga, the South Urals, and Kazakhstan.

The collectivization of agriculture was completed during the Second 5-Year Plan. It took tremendous efforts and time to overcome the crisis situation in the country. By 1937 the country had 243,700 kolkhozes, embracing 93% of peasant farms. The socialist system was practically the only form of agricultural organization in the USSR.

What is the overall conclusion today—the importance of collectivization in the development of our society?

Interpreting the process of collectivization as a whole, with all its "pluses" and "minuses," we must stress the profound contradiction between the aim and the means of achieving it. Nevertheless, despite all the obstacles and difficulties, kolkhozes were able to strengthen and boost production—this showed the strength of socialist economic forms. Collectivization enabled us to mobilize material and manpower resources for the growth of industry, the strengthening of defense might, and the social and cultural progress of all society. The millions of peasants became a class of worker-collectivists. Collectivization closed the last sources and channels of class stratification and kulak exploitation in the countryside.

The kolkhozes were and still are one of the foundations of our socialist economy and entire social system. The party's modern agrarian policy, formulated by the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) Plenum and the USSR Food Program, is designed to resolve within a very short period of time the tasks of completely providing the country with food. The measures adopted in recent years have enabled us to do a great deal to develop agriculture's material and technical base and that of the sectors associated with it. The economy of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, interfarm, and processing enterprises has become stronger and crop farming and livestock raising productivity has grown.

At the same time the 27th party congress acknowledged that a resolute breakthrough is necessary in the agrarian sector in order to markedly improve food supplies in the 12th 5-Year Plan. To this end additional measures designed to boost the efficiency of all sectors in the agro-industrial complex have been elaborated. Their essence lies in changing the socioeconomic situation in the country and creating the conditions for more profound intensification and guaranteed output. Today the stress is being put on economic management methods, expanding independence, and boosting kolkhozes' and sovkhozes' responsibility for the results of their activity.

A fundamental step was the appearance in the center and at local level of unified agro-industrial complex management organs intended to ensure the real and effective integration of agriculture and the industrial sectors associated with it. The creation of this organizational structure is reinforced today by an effective economic mechanism. The main idea in improving it is to open up scope for economic management methods, considerably expand the independence of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and step up their commitment and responsibility for the end results. It is essentially a question of making creative use of Lenin's ideas on ooperatives as applied to modern conditions.

Genuine economic accountability and the dependence of enterprises' income on the end results, the 27th CPSU Congress stressed, must be the norm for all links of the agro-industrial complex and above all for kolkhozes and sovkhozes. A new future is opening up before them.

Scientific

AIDS Discussed at News Conference

LD301815 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Excerpts] A press conference was held today for Soviet and foreign journalists on the subject of "Soviet Science Under the Conditions of Restructuring." It took place at the press center of the 70th Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary, where, as you know, conferences are being held daily. Here is a report from our correspondent (Yuriy Gordeyev):

[(Gordeyev)] Guriy Ivanovich Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Yevgeniy Pavlovich Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Academicians Sagdeyev and Goldanskiy answered journalists questions. [passage omitted] Speaking about the main achievements of Soviet science, Guriy Ivanovich Marchuk said:

[Begin Marchuk recording] The primary, most important and, in my view, outstanding result of USSR science is the creation of a diagnosis [diagnostikum] for AIDS using artificial antigenes. This work is unique—there is nothing like it anywhere in the world—and its unique nature consists of the fact that AIDS itself is very variable. The virus changes its determinants very quickly, so that one has to constantly search for the components and keep track of its variability. The discovery by the group of scientists under Academician Raymond Viktorovich Petrov provides broad opportunities to attack AIDS.

Apart from that, the whole world is now excited over the problem of high temperature superconductivity. We have now obtained a number of major results in the development of this problem which, I think, give us grounds to begin laying down practical proposals. The next problem—which, in general, has been developing

by degrees for quite a long time, though it is now being realized in practice—is solid state lasers. One can say that a certain considerable step has been taken in developing of muon catalysis—catalysis with the help of, in the presence, of mu mesons. I think this list indicates that our arsenal of projects and scientific undertakings is pretty broad. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[(Gordeyev)] Next is the future of atomic power. After the tragic events of Chernobyl, this question worries both those at home and the foreign public. In this connection it was announced at the press conference:

[Begin Velikhov recording] All our assessments indicate that we need nuclear power, despite the fact that we have large coal, natural gas, and petroleum reserves. When we make an overall assessment of the problems connected with transporting these resources and, above all, with the dangers of extracting, transporting, and using them, plus the environmental impact, we see that it is rational for us to use nuclear power. We believe that we ought to reach approximately the same percentage utilization level as in, for instance, the United States today. This is a reasonable of percentage utilization—that is, with around 100 to 150 stations. Of course, we have certain delays in the power program because we now have to take significant measures to improve atomic reactor safety. the main key to the problem is to make atomic reactors significantly more reliable and safe, and to rule out any possibility of a repeat of the Chernobyl situation. As concerns the siting of atomic reactors, there has indeed been a great deal of criticism of how atomic reactors are sited and why they are put where they are. This has been examined in great detail by the government at all levels, and consequently now, of course, the requirements concerning the siting of atomic reactors and the study of all possible factors affecting this siting—in particular, not only the population, the environment, proximity to large towns, water supply sources, etc...all these factors are now being examined in great detail, so we are reviewing many locations and plans that were previously accepted. [passage omitted]

In addition to nuclear warheads, medium-range missiles consist of the missiles themselves, and it would be a shame to blow these up and throw them away. Therefore, we have been thinking about what uses we could put the missiles themselves to. We partly use this technology for operating magnetohydrodynamic [MHD] generators, and at the moment we have a project together with Italian scientists in the framework of the World Laboratory to use MHD generators to study the electrical conductivity of the earth's crust.

In addition to this, one can make direct use of the missiles. Our scientists at the Earth Physics institute have suggested using around 20 missiles—they would be buried underground and then create torque. This would enable us to take a block of the earth's surface and shake it. This is very important, because it's a unique opportunity...it's only once in a lifetime that we destroy so many missiles. Then we will be able to examine how these oscillations of the earth's surface propagate and how they are attenuated. This is a very interesting method of studying the Earth's crust—something extremely important for us, to study earthquakes, crust dynamics, etc. [end recording]

[(Gordeyev)] The next question asked at the press conference concerned Academician Sakharov's creative work today:

[Begin Velikhov recording] Academician Sakharov has shown interest in a number of scientific issues. Firstly, he has traditionally worked on issues relating to physics, astrophysics, and elementary particle physics. He has also been traditionally interested in thermonuclear fusion and issues relating to arms control. In this area, as you know, he took part in the international forum in February. We have met several times in the framework of meetings of the Committee of Soviet Scientists Against the Nuclear Threat to discuss these issues, and the day before yesterday, for 2 days, he participated with Academicians Sagdayev and Goldanskiy, in the annual meeting of Soviet and U.S. scientists in Vilnius, which discussed issues of mutual security and arms control. So in this respect he is working actively. In the sphere of controlled thermonuclear fusion, we have discussed the issues with him several times, but for the moment he has yet to get back into this problem. But here he is also displaying an interest, so it seems to me that he is taking an active part in many issues at the moment outside of his immediate professional work in the Physics Institute of the Academy of Sciences. [end recording]

[(Gordeyev)] A correspondent from a U.S. newspaper asked a question about the origins of the AIDS virus in connection with certain publications on its artificial origins:

[Begin Velikhov recording] No serious scientist or researcher in this area has ever published any reports containing even the slightest hint that the virus was artificially created, or indicating where it might have been produced. The Soviet Union's Academy of Sciences has nothing to do with such publications. [end recording]

Cosmonaut's Activities On 'Mir' Reported

LD302034 Moscow TASS in English 1049 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 30 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports from the ground control center:

Cosmonauts Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov are completing another working week aboard the space research platform "*Mir*."

Their program of work for the past few days included astrophysics and geophysics experiments, medical studies and maintenance work on the on-board systems of the platform's core vehicle.

A pulsar in the large Magellanic cloud was selected as the target of the astrophysics studies from the orbital observatory "*Roentgen.*"

The spacemen also photographed the territory of the Caucasus, west Kazakhstan and the Caspian Sea under a program for earth resources and environmental research.

Today they are to take pictures of individual areas of central Kazakhstan and do maintenance work on the life-support system.

Comprehensive medical checkups on the two cosmonauts yesterday showed them to be feeling well and in good health.

Pokhodnya on Post-Chernobyl Plant Mutations

PM021251 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Oct 87 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with Academician I.K. Pokhodnya by own correspondent S. Sibirtsev: "Ukraine Days at the USSR All-Union Exhibition of National Economic Achievements: Energy of Creation"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Ukrainian SSR Days began at the All-Union Exhibition of National Economic Achievements in Moscow yesterday. Our correspondent met with I.K. Pokhodnya, vice president and academician of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and member of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [passage omitted]

[Sibirtsev] You will no doubt already be used to the fact that, no matter where he is, a Ukrainian scientist always gets asked how things are at Chernobyl.

[Pokhodnya] We are now taking part in the decontamination of the locality and concerning ourselves with water problems. A mathemamatical model of the Kiev reservoir has been constructed. Radionuclides have settled on the reservoir bottom. We must know precisely whether they will rise to the surface or enter drinking water. The advisability of carrying out agricultural work in the 30-km zone and surrounding area is under study.

Botanists are studying changes which have occurred in plants under the effect of radiation. Very marked deviations of shape and size are observed in a number of cases.

Much time is being given to further developing the Energy Program. The concentration of AES's in the European part of the country will increase. This requires a sharp increase in their reliability and improvement in personnel training.

The stress caused by the accident is now gradually disappearing. But we must do everything possible to prevent such a misfortune ever occurring again.

U.S., Soviets Cooperate in Space Photography

LD301408 Moscow TASS in English 2057 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—More than 30 U.S. Government and private companies, institutions and universities have requested for the supply of Soviet space photography with a degree of resolution equal to 5-10 metres.

"The Soviet Union is prepared for this cooperation and has already started the supplies of space produce at the request of individual U.S. companies and institutions," a TASS correspondent was told by Vyacheslav Piskulin, director general of the Soviet Foreign trade organization "Soyuzkarta" of the USSR main Administration of Geodesy and Mapping. Among them there are such big organizations as for example the American Institute of Aeronautrics and Astronautics, the Centre for International and Strategic Affairs of the USA, the Belka International Incorp and the Space Commercial Corp.

"Soviet space photography is now in ready demand in the world and U.S. specialists have evaluated its high quality at its due worth," Vyacheslav Piskulin stressed. Thus, for example Robert Vincent, president of the Belka International Incorp. expressed satisfaction with the quality of Soviet photography and specially pointed out the high degree of resolution in the locality which is better than any photographer obtained from commercial satellites and at least twice as good as the ten metre materials of the French system SPOT.

BRIEFS

Seminar of Nuclear Engineers

Voronezh October 30 TASS—Nuclear power engineers at an international seminar in Voronezh have discussed issues of perfecting safety systems and training atomic power plant personnel. The seminar was organized at the initiative of the International Union of Producers and Distributors of Electrical Energy (UNIPEDE). The seminar, organized in the USSR for the first time, was held at the training centre of the Novovoronezh atomic power plant, Central Russia. The seminar which closed today drew representatives of the personnel of atomic power stations from Austria, Spain, the Netherlands, the Soviet Union the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland and Switzerland. They familiarized themselves with the Novovoronezh atomic power plant which generated more than 200 billion kilowatt hours of electricity in 23 years since its construction and with the organization of training of power plant operators in the Soviet Union. [Text] *[Moscow TASS in English 1533 GMT 30 Oct 87 LD]*

Antarctic Expedition Under Way

The ship *"Kapitan Myshevskiy"* is to complete taking on cargo today before leaving for the 33d Soviet Antarctic expedition. The ship's voyage will last more than 7 months. Polar specialists and essential equipment will be delivered to the Antarctic by the ship. The ship is also to carry two "MI-8" helicopters and an "AN-2" aircraft. The crew is to work at the lattitudes of our research centers "*Mirnyy*" and "*Molodezhnaya*," and near three other stations. Another permanent station near 69th parallel is to be set up. [Summary] *[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2200 GMT 30 Oct 87 LD]*

Television in Kamchatka

The workers of the Yelizovo state industrial-agricultural enterprise, the largest in Kamchatka, are now able to watch television. A "Moskva" system dish for receiving Orbita-1 programs has been installed by the enterprise for the benefit of the workers. [summary] *[Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 29 Oct 87 OW]*

Military

Yazov, Lizichev Visit Leningrad Regiment

PM301712 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Oct 87 First Edition pp 1,2

[Report by own correspondents Colonel G. Miranovich, Colonel V. Streltsov, and Captain First Class A. Zlydnev: "Traditions Are Our Arsenal. Ceremonial Meeting Devoted to 70th Anniversary of Great October at the Leningrad Guards' Motorized Rifle Training Regiment Named for the Lenin Komsomol"]

[Excerpts] This day will long be remembered by the guards servicemen. The ceremonial meeting devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was attended and their regiment visited by Army General D. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; and Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Remarkable traditions have been handed down to those now serving in the Leningrad Guards' Motorized Rifle Training Regiment named for the Lenin Komsomol. [passage omitted]

It was natural that when familiarizing themselves with the lives, training, and leisure of the motorized riflemen before the start of the meeting, the USSR defense minister and the chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate should inquire about how well the young servicemen know the unit's history and how they are cherishing and augmenting its glory. There was a lively conversation in the training areas and the barracks.

The young servicemen in this training regiment train in 19 specialities each. Correspondingly, the range of questions touched upon in the conversation with them was very wide. There was a frank and businesslike conversation about what is hampering intensification of combat training and resolution of the task of fundamentally improving military discipline. The future unit commanders, mechanics, drivers, marksmen, and servicemen in other specialities talked about their lives, shared their ideas about improving the training process, and demonstrated the knowledge and habits they had acquired.

The conversations with the officers touched upon urgent questions of improving training of young commanders and specialists and instilling in them the moral and combat qualities needed for service in the troops under conditions of restructuring.

It was stressed that the graduates of training subunits will have to work with young people, including youths who are poorly prepared for service. Under these conditions, the importance of courageous, bold, and competent people prepared to defend and implement their decisions is particularly great. A great deal is being done in the regiment to ensure that it produces such graduates. It does not dodge acute questions in work with young people.

The following fact, for instance, is worth noting. On the basis of permission from the USSR Defense Ministry, representatives of the French FR-3 TV channel worked at the regiment for a few days. They were making a program about training of sergeants in the Soviet Army. Every day, they recorded the life of a company from dawn to dusk. The FR-3 director making the film—Gilles Sarton du Jonchay, a reserve officer in the French Armed Forces—did not just ask about purely military questions, a field in which he is undoubtedly qualified. He asked the students what rock groups they knew about, what they think of the "guerrilla war" in Afghanistan, what attitude they take to dissidents... It is hard to say what conclusions Du Jonchay drew, but, in talking to servicemen of different nationalities, he had an opportunity to see for himself that our soldiers are young people with a high sense of moral duty to the motherland. They have the convictions of internationalists, are not subject to servility or hypocrisy, and are able to stand up for the truth.

Yes, restructuring needs independent people who do not expect orders for every trifling matter but take responsibility themselves and see through everything they start—large or small. Naturally, these qualities do not come by themselves. They have to be nurtured constantly, every single day. A very great deal in this area depends on how units and ships relate to our Armed Forces' rich and glorious traditions. Discussing this subject with servicemen from one of the subunits which on 7 November will parade across the very Leningrad square where 70 years ago their grandfathers and great-grandfathers stormed

the Winter Palace, Army Gen D. Yazov stressed that faithfulness to traditions today presupposes above all activeness in the struggle for restructuring and in fulfilling the party's demands for improving combat readiness and Armed Forces discipline. This idea was the theme of the ceremonial meeting held yesterday at the unit's club.

The report by Army General B. Snetkov, commander of the Leningrad Order of Lenin Military District, and the speeches by M. Kozin, chairman of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom Party Veterans' Committee; Lieutenant Colonel A. Belousov, commander of a guards' regiment; student V. Andreyev, secretary of the Komsomol organization at a company whose roll of honor is forever inscribed with the name of Hero of the Soviet Union Guards' Private D. Molodtsov; Reserve Sergeant V. Sutyagin, former serviceman with the regiment and hull fitter at the S. Ordzhonikidze Shipyard; Chief Petty Officer I. Maltsev, commander of the gunnery unit on the cruiser "*Avrora*," and the other meeting participants discussed the failure to utilize reserves in the work to foster in young people an active desire to cherish and augment glorious revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions. The report and speeches stressed that it is necessary to make fuller use of this valuable spiritual legacy for solving urgent tasks of restructuring, and to ensure every day that the inextinguishable light of tradition burns in each regiment and on each ship. The example of front-line heroes and internationalist servicemen is constantly alive in the hearts of their successors and encourages them to selfless military labor. [passage omitted]

Unity of army and people: Leningraders' fidelity to this glorious tradition was vividly seen here at the meeting, where the most representative delegations were those from enterprises which have sponsored the regiment throughout its history. How can one fail to recall the words of the CPSU Central Committee Appeal to the Soviet people in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution: "The cause of older generations, veterans of socialist building, and their younger replacements is one cause."

Keeping faith with traditions is an active feeling, Army Gen A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, said in his speech at the meeting. So today, on the eve of the 70th anniversary of Great October, all Communists, Komsomol members, soldiers, sergeants, petty officers, warrant officers, and regimental officers should ask themselves: "Am I doing everything as laid down by the party and Komsomol Statutes, the military oath, and service regulations? Am I carrying out my duties? What have I achieved today, this week, this month? Have I advanced in improving my combat and moral training?" Yes, this takes courage. It also takes courage to answer honestly in a party fashion and to assess one's contribution to restructuring. But how could it be otherwise? After all, patriots are not those who spout pretty words about love of motherland, but those who tirelessly work for the sake of strengthening its might, who do not panic when they see difficulties or unresolved problems but roll up their sleeves to overcome the obstacles, and who day in and day out do eveything incumbent on them to ensure the reliable defense of the motherland. The 27th party congress gears us toward such an approach to work, and the purposeful ideological education work by commanders, political organs, and party organizations during the preparations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference is designed to assert this understanding of traditions, duty, and responsibility. Everything must be done to ensure that preparations for the conference are conducted at a high ideological, political, and organizational level and in the context of further rallying of party ranks, strengthening of the unity of party and people, and deepening of the process of revolutionary social transformations under way in the country.

It was noted at the meeting that the concept of "emulating front-line troops" had, regrettably, not yet acquired specific content everywhere. Certain units may have marvelous front-line traditions and high awards of the motherland on their colors, but be just "also-rans" or even laggards in terms of the results of combat and political training. This is largely conditioned by the fact that a great deal of what the Army and Navy have always prided themselves upon has been lost. Our time-honored combat traditions have not been built up, and have often just been proclaimed as pretty slogans. In celebrating the October jubilee, commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations must strictly and self-critically assess their work in educating young people.

Dwelling on the tasks linked with this, the chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate stressed that the present generation of young people are the generation of the 27th CPSU Congress, which adopted the party's strategic course of restructuring. They face difficult tasks. The braking mechanism still operates. Old habits and old, ingrained mentality will not give up without a fight. This means that today as never before young people need civic courage, genuine professionalism and competence, and an intensity of all their spiritual and physical forces. This is all the more important under conditions of the deepening restructuring in the Army and Navy. The Soviet people want to see their Armed Forces as a model of discipline, organization, and order. But, quite frankly, qualities such as honor, dignity, and responsibility have grown fuzzy as far as certain servicemen are concerned. The romance of military service has also faded, and interest in it has diminished. We all know the consequences of complacency, reduced demandingness, negligence, and carelessness. It is very important to arrange educational work to ensure that all young servicemen clearly recognize the problems that have built up, see ways to solve them, take account of increased demands on quality of the training process and level of the combat training of troops and naval forces, and proceed on the basis that we can only build renewal with our own hands.

The meeting was addressed by Army Gen D. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister.

As someone who once served in your regiment, he said, I can particularly understand the passion with which people here spoke about the need to give more in training, service, and military patriotic work. You have the great honor of guarding the gains of October on Leningrad's sacred land. The cradle of the revolution, Leningrad has loomed larger over the years in the minds of many generations as a glorious worker-city and hero-city. Today Leningraders—as M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted during his recent meetings with them—are in the front ranks of revolutionary transformations and are continuing the cause of Great October. Yes, the revolution continues. It lives in our minds, in our work, and in the renewal which the party has inspired millions of Soviet people to undertake. The party's call to stride confidently down the road of October—the road of restructuring—was heard at the CPSU Central Committee October (1987) Plenum and the Eighth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Soviet Army, Army Gen D. Yazov went on to note, was also forged in the flame of the battles for the cause of October. It is just a few months younger than our state. You are well aware of that from the history of your regiment, a revered member of which was Yan Fabritsius, one of the first Red commanders.

Today your combat formation no longer has any of those who steadfastly and courageously—as befits Soviet soldiers—endured all the experiences that war could throw at them and won the victory. But there is one constant veteran among you—the Guards' Colors, adorned with the orders of the Red Banner and Kutuzov. As a symbol of military honor, valor, and glory, they should remind each of you of your sacred duty to selflessly serve the Soviet motherland and defend it courageously and skillfully, as did those who carried them through the flames of battle.

The role of your regiment is also special. It trains future specialists and junior commanders. All efforts of the command and political staffs should be aimed at training and educating them. It is important for the training process to be based on practical resolution of tasks and training questions. It is impossible to conceive of training specialists and junior commanders to meet modern demands without methodological questing. The material and technical base for their training must be further improved.

It should be borne in mind that even the officers themselves who train the specialists and junior commanders should not be satisfied with their old knowledge and habits. They must constantly improve their teaching standards. The teaching wisdom of officers lies not in stifling but, on the contrary, in encouraging every subordinate's desire to excel in efficient acquisition of a speciality, the skillful use of weapons and hardware, and strict observance of the demands of military regulations. Students absolutely must take this approach to training as the rule and use it among the troops in work with their subordinates or comrades. I am convinced of this because I myself did this as a company commander. In training sergeants, we endeavored to provide them with specific and practical knowledge. In short, we prepared them for combat. Our work, as studies later showed, was not in vain. Many junior commanders successfully replaced officers. Some of them have even linked their destiny to the Army forever. There are graduates of your training regiment among those who are worthily continuing the glorious traditions of the Leningrad Order of Lenin Military District today.

There are many famous units, ships, and military training establishments in the Soviet Armed Forces, the USSR defense minister went on to say. Vladimir Ilich Lenin has been registered as a revered soldier in many of them. The names of heroes of the Soviet Union and full holders of the Order of Glory are inscribed forever on the rolls of honor in a number of Leningrad Military District units and in your regiment.

I want to recall this because service in famous formations imposes many commitments. Traditions born of battle are of immense and continuing value. They are our treasures and combat arsenal whose importance does not diminish with the years. But how can we talk about continuity of traditions if we "produce" only satisfactory results? Your regiment has been considered good for the last 3 years. But why should it not be considered excellent? Now that another group of students is graduating, I think it would be useful to look into what is going on and why stagnant phenomena have not been eradicated. Restructuring makes tough demands on everyone—from section commander to regimental commander.

You live in a harmonious, multinational regimental family rallied around the one aim of reliably defending the great cause of October. That is an inexhaustible source of strength and inspiration. If regiments are strong, it means that divisions are strong too. It means that our Armed Forces—the bastion of peace and the Soviet people's creative labor—are strong as well.

The restructuring which is deepening in both the country and the Armed Forces is giving a powerful boost to the acceleration of all our work. Many commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations have started working more actively and in a spirit of innovation. The public opinion of military collectives at units and on ships is becoming more and more prestigious. The increased sociopolitical activeness of servicemen is the result of the favorable impact of the changes taking place in the life of the Army and Navy. People are beginning to realize that under present conditions, it is

impossible to live and work in the old way. Restructuring is making all of us throw off the burden of established views and habits and radically alter the style of our activity.

Time demands unity of words and deeds. Here too, Army Gen D. Yazov stressed, everybody must start with themselves. We must tell the truth and nothing but the truth. We must do everything on the basis of honor and conscience. We must really put more into our work, mindful of the saying that nothing becomes old renown better than new renown.

(The meeting participants adopted an appeal from the regiment personnel to Armed Forces servicemen, which will be published in *Krasnaya Zvezda*).

During their stay in Leningrad, Army Gen D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, and Army Gen A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, met with party veterans, front-line troops, and representatives of working people and party and soviet organs from the city on the Neva, and visited the cruiser "*Avrora*," the Lenin Memorial at Smolnyy, and other historic sites symbolizing our people's revolutionary, combat, and labor feats.

At Victory Square, D.T. Yazov and A.D. Lizichev laid a wreath at the foot of the monument to the defenders of Leningrad. Wreaths from the USSR Defense Ministry and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate were laid at the Motherland Monument at the Piskarevskoye Memorial Cemetery.

A talk was held with Y.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad party obkom. Army General B.V. Snetkov, commander of the Leningrad Order of Lenin Military District, and Major General Y.M. Pavlov, member of the district Military Council and chief of its Political Directorate, also took part.

Poor Predraft Training Examined

Part One

PM291401 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Oct 87 First Edition p 2

[First part of special correspondent Colonel V. Filatov article: "How Are Things, Draftee? On Certain Problems in Preparing Young People in Moscow for Military Service"; first two paragraphs are KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Excerpts] More than a year has elapsed since the resolution designed to further improve the preparation of young people for military service was adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. *Krasnaya Zvezda* regularly writes about how it is being fulfilled at local level. This year alone we have analyzed the preparation of young people for army service in Bryansk Oblast ("Readiness for Army Service," 18 January 1987), Frunze ("Shame in the Eyes of the People," 27 January), Transcarpathian Oblast ("There Were Many Decisions," 19 March), Kurgan-Tyube Oblast ("You Cannot Change Matters With Words," 18 June), Tomsk Oblast ("Without Due Attention," 15 July), and Leningrad ("Too Many Cooks...," 1 August).

Today we publish an article by our special correspondent. It will talk about the preparation of Moscow youth for military service and about the problems which exist in this matter. [passage omitted]

The spring army and navy draft... The fall draft. Everyone is aware of them. However, not everyone knows about the spring and fall... hunt for certain guys in order to draft them into the Army and Navy. But the hunt, as such, does exist and people must be made aware of it. The army and navy draft is a nationwide affair. Local party and soviet organs, party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations in enterprises and institutes, and labor collectives must take an active part in it. Unfortunately, for some time now people have begun to think of it as a matter only involving military commissariats. You rarely see enterprise leaders present when draftees are sent off for military service. The holding of ceremonial sendoffs for young people in plants and educational establishments is not the rule but the exception.

But let us return to our spring and fall hunts... One Nikolay Dyachenko, born 1957, lived in Frunzenskiy Rayon in Moscow. He worked as an engineer in a design institute. Draft time arrived. The medical commission examined the draftee's fitness for military service and deemed him fit. After this Dyachenko disappeared. A hunt was announced. He was discovered almost on the very day of his 27th birthday, that is, when he passed the upper age limit. Dyachenko received 2 years' imprisonment for evading military service.

Everything did not go as he would have liked for Dmitriy Shevionkov from the city of Odintsov, which is 30 minutes by train from the center of Moscow. He was also sentenced to 2 years for evading military service. He served his time from start to finish, as they say. After this he was drafted into the Army and is now serving in a construction detachment.

But, it seems that Serafim Yevsyukov from Domodedov—another immediate suburb of Moscow—"outdid" all his draftee contemporaries. In his turn he was sentenced to 2 years 6 months for evading military service. He did his time. He was released. He did not appear when he was summoned to the military commissariat and once again evaded military service, for which he once again found himself in clink. He got exactly 3 years there, moreover, under strict regime conditions.

Dyachenko, Shevionkov, and Yevsyukov... The list could go on and on. Last year's figure alone for evaders for various reasons is considerable. Some of the evaders were delivered to the draft points with the help of the militia and the prosecutor's office. Yet all the same the militia did not "help" many evaders. They never appeared at the draft points. The files on these people have been handed to the prosecutor's office.

I drove from the newspaper office to our combat units and heard from commanders not only words of delight at the reinforcements supplied by Moscow but also complaints about them. They are serious complaints. You will not be able to brush them aside. I went to the penal battalion—there are rather a lot of my fellow Muscovites there. Why? What is the reason for this? We are talking about Muscovites!

I have often been on military exercises where the living conditions and way of life are very close to combat conditions. Some complain that life is difficult. But I cannot relinquish another thought. Exercises in the U.S. Army, for instance, last for months, and soldiers do not emerge from conditions very close to combat conditions for months. Servicemen know what it is like. At best it is always light tents. At best it is always sleeping on the snow around the campfire. The commander has to give permission for the fire to be started, situations vary... Food is often dry rations. Summer exercises mean heat and rain, dust and mud up to the knees, thirst and gnats. And endless river crossings. One more thing... Constant frenzied movement—in armored personnel carriers, tanks, missile launchers... From engagement to engagement, from engagement to engagement, day and night. I repeat, this is what it is like for the Americans, they have up to several months of this.

They are prepared...

How can it be a questions of comfort, albeit even the most elementary? We must be constantly mobilized and irreproachably trained for all ordeals. The soldier's natural way of life is in the field. All his life the great Suvorov used a log instead of a pillow. And he was invincible! Yet with our mansions of barracks we will freeze to death in the first combat in the field. With these mansions we will die of heatstroke and sunstroke even before we come into contact with the enemy.

Yet true military men have some comforts. The very best comfort. The comfort of the soul. Its name is victory. Victory over oneself in very severe conditions. Victory over the enemy, who everyone thought was stronger than you. This comfort is attained only through thorns. This comfort is attained only through overcoming obstacles. What is victory? It is the skill and the ability to do something which your enemy thinks is impossible. Our probable adversary's soldiers are trained in conditions where mud is not up to their knees but up to their necks. They are trained in conditions where the temperature is not 30 degrees but over 50 degrees—literally. They are trained to survive without dry rations not for a day or two, but for weeks... We must oppose such training with our own. Better training, of course, that is, with tougher parameters, say. To forge victory. It is necessary to know this and to look at it with open eyes. Soldier and sailors are trained for combat. On the eve of the battle the commander plans the quantity of ammunition he needs for victory, and the medical officer predicts, to put it mildly, the number of losses. Our losses. Dead and wounded. Is that grim and cruel? Yes. But it is reality. And man must be ready for it.

We constantly talk about continuity in education work. We are correct. But often by these words we mean no more than a meeting with a veteran of the civil war or the Great Patriotic War, or a veteran from a plant. But there is another dimension: families, the kindergarten, school, vocational and technical schools, the Komsomol, the labor collective, educational establishments, and the army... People live in this sequence of events, and it is in this sequence that they are raised to maturity. For a start: How has the family, say, prepared the draftee for service?

People know that the draftee arrives at the military commissariat in response to a summons. They know that the summons is sent by mail or by messenger to the draftee's house. The draftee's mother and father are at home. Therefore it can be said that not only the future soldier, the defender of the fatherland, but also his whole family receives the summons. Do they discuss it? Yes! Do they give him advice? Yes! Do they wish him success in his service? You would think this ought to happen if a future soldier grows up in a family. But here are statistics for just the fall draft alone, again for Moscow. Several hundred draftees did not appear at the military commissariat after the first summons. Not everyone appeared at the second summons. And for many even three summonses was not enough... I repeat that the summonses are sent home to the families. Where was mother looking? Where was father looking? They saw that their son had already received three summonses from the military commissariat. Incidentally, I was interested in the parents who came to the military commissariats. They fit into two categories: The first ask that their son be given a postponement or be sent to serve somewhere near home, preferably in the neighboring street, so that he can come home every day; the second tearfully ask that he be taken into the Army as quickly as possible and sent as far away from home as possible because he has already long since escaped parental control and maybe the Army will correct this. These are the virtually diametrically opposed viewpoints in the family concerning the Army, yet they are in essence identical: Parents intimidate their offspring with the Army, some in the hope that they will correct themselves, others in fear that it will ruin them. Yet all too many parents ask that their sons serve nearby in their civilian profession: drawing, playing in a band, training in a sports team, working on a computer, or, if the worse comes to the worst, working at headquarters.

You don't have to strain yourself too much to understand how the family have prepared their son to defend the fatherland throughout the years before the draft.

When we write about heroes, we are necessarily talking about their parents, what they are like, how they have raised their children, what they have taught them. This is all right but it is also useful to remember parents when we write about other "heroes"! What are the parents of Dyachenko, Shevionkov, and Yevsyukov like?... Today 688 young people of draft age in Moscow are not working and not studying. There are also drug addicts and alcoholics among the draftees. If you take them all into consideration and translate the figure into terms of military units, then it turns out that in just the distant approaches to the combat formation we have lost a good regiment in Moscow alone. We have lost yet another regiment without even embarking on combat training, the circumstances being as follows: Hundreds of young people aged 14 to 17 have committed crimes, and, of course, they will not now be sent to combat regiments.

We mourn everyone who has honestly laid down his life in Afghanistan while fulfilling his combat duty. Everyone who has perished there is mourned by his family—he died a hero for a just cause. The family can be proud of their dead. But what family can mourn with pride these drug addicts, toxin addicts, and alcoholics? For these are also losses, often irrevocable losses. These are dead soldiers. They are, incidentally, like lost Newtons. I understand that is also a source of pain for the family. But all the same... Who should be called to account for these losses? Why did their son die? Whom was he defending?

In Afghanistan I saw people fighting for the life of a soldier wounded in battle—both comrades and commanders, not to mention the medics, they display simply marvelous heroism there when it is a question of saving a man. Something around 100 men from Moscow's Kievskiy Rayon have served in Afghanistan over the course of 8 years. In all those years two died. This is also the picture in Krasnopresnenskiy Rayon and in other regions of Moscow. But here are the results of the work of the draft commissions drafting young people for active military service: A considerable number of the draft contingent is not drafted each year due to illness and even larger numbers cannot be drafted into crucial categories of troops because of health limitations. What does such a nondraft due to illness amount to in military terms, with regard to the defense of the motherland? Once again these are irreplaceable losses. Soldiers slain before the battle. What does conditionally fit mean, again in military terms? Wounded. Weakened regiments. Weakened combat capability. Here the blame does not only lie with the family, but with all Moscow medicine. You can only talk about quality of medical treatment for 15-year-olds with a great deal of imagination. What is the result—late diagnosis of illness, insufficiently effective treatment, so the illness becomes chronic. We suffer the largest losses today due to ailments like, for example, impaired vision, flat feet, and obesity. School physicians and physical education teachers can improve the health of this group of young people. Both these sick and conditionally fit people lie on their conscience.

There are more losses, I mean psychological and nervous illness among children of draft age. A great deal influences the prevalence of this group of illnesses. Here again it is necessary to talk about alcoholism, drug addiction, and hereditary factors, that is, about the family, the medics, and the environment. A bad gardener, no matter what he plants, will grow twisted and stunted plants.

Before every battle soldiers rehearse on the proving ground what they will have to do in the real battle. Step by step, in detail—until it comes automatically. No commander will launch his soldiers into the thick of things without doing this. Service in the Army is also a great test. It is necessary to prepare for it. Are there conditions for this in Moscow? Educational establishments in Moscow lack 50% of the gymnastic complexes, and assault courses alone required for physically training young people. There is nowhere in Moscow for a future soldier to exercise on horizontal bars, and there is no opportunity for him to test himself on an assault course or to learn how to throw a practice grenade. [passage omitted]

It has been calculated that nearly 70% of time in physical education classes is wasted—the children do not build up physical strength due to the poor organization of the classes. [passage omitted]

"Over there" [in Afghanistan] they do not only learn how to handle "Stingers." Yes, they are mercenaries. Yes, they work for large sums of money. But we work for the motherland! Deficiencies in a young man's physical development can end in tragedy for him in the Army. People must be made aware of this. A son does not go into the Army just so the family can have a break from him. But Moscow teachers do not even have methodical studies on physical education classes with a military thrust. It is the old disease: Public education and vocational and technical education organs continue to shift the work of developing draftees' physical education onto one another, sport and physical fitness committees, DOSAAF committees, draftee physical education teachers, and military leaders... Yet this is a statewide matter. It is possible to stimulate competition here—who can help defend the fatherland more. [passage omitted]

Part Two

PM291435 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Oct 87 First Edition p 2

[Concluding part of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Filatov article: "How Are Things, Draftee? On Certain Problems in Preparing Young People in Moscow for Military Service"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] If military-patriotic education is begun when young people reach 18, and the education system has to act like a young mother always

on hand, this means we are exactly 18 years too late. In Moscow at least, the public education organs consider their most important task as being to pursue the subjects on the curriculum. But what about the subject of instilling in young people love of the Soviet Army and Navy and fostering in them a readiness to defend the motherland, a sense of personal responsibility for the fate of the socialist fatherland, and a personal readiness to take up arms to defend it and, if necessary, lay down their lives for it—there is no such subject on the curriculum and, moreover, such things are not even mentioned during lessons. They may be mentioned generally, in terms of general teaching during history lessons, but they are not applied specifically to the schoolboy who will be a soldier in 1-2 years. Even mathematics should be imbued with this. I have met teachers who claimed that in their opinion even literature falls outside of ideology. [passage omitted]

The process of preparing young people for military service and fostering in young people elements of a military nature such as efficiency, discipline, and physical endurance mean fostering qualities that people need all their lives, not just for army service. It is not just a question of the people who will be tomorrow's tank or strategic submarine crews, but those who will fill our shops, laboratories, and offices in the future.

In order to foster such qualities we need, apart from anything else, training facilities. What is the base like in Moscow? It is as bad as could be in the 18 oblasts and the city of Moscow on whose territory the Moscow Military District is located. Only 14.5% of educational establishments enjoy the necessary conditions for military training exercises. Some 18 years have based since initial military training was introduced and there is still not a real teaching base in the city. Many resolutions have been adopted. The Moscow City Soviet adopted three in 1983-1986 alone. However, all this is still just on paper. Nobody is implementing the resolutions. Moreover, rayon soviets of people's deputies together with the Moscow City Planning Committee, the Main Architectural and Planning Administration, the Main Administration for Capital Construction, and the Main Administrations for Public and Vocational and Technical Education have, in violation of the demands of a Moscow Gorispolkom resolution, been building new schools and agricultural vocational and technical colleges without facilities for initial military training. In 1984-1986 alone 74 secondary schools and 11 agricultural vocational and technical colleges were built in the city, but it was "forgotten" to equip them with facilities for training young people for military service. It is not planned to create such a facilities in newly commissioned educational establishments in 1987-1988. The Moscow Main Architectural and Planning Administration has set aside for new school construction in 1988-1989 plots of land that in no way permit the full creation of the elements of facilities for initial military training. Yet the Moscow Gorispolkom resolution categorically prohibited such a state of affairs.

A good plan for creating facilities for physical and initial military training exercises has been drawn up. But it has been gathering dust on bureaucratic shelves for several years now. The Moscow Main Architectural and Planning Administration can in no way coordinate its implementation with the city's industry, and tracts of land have not been set aside for the project. When carrying out capital repairs to secondary schools, agricultural vocational and technical colleges, and technical colleges it has become the universal practice not to add on shooting galleries or to create a base for initial military training. There is a good plan in existence—U-84—which has again been ratified by a Moscow Gorispolkom resolution. But the construction workers did not want to work on the basis of this plan. They even backed up this local arbitrariness with their own philosophy—we have to save material resources, they said. Does that benefit the teenagers? Or the servicemen and workers of the future?

A conference with the participation of all interested parties was held at the Main Administration for Capital Construction in April. It discussed the same teaching facilities. Recommendations for siting elements of the teaching base were drawn up and coordinated with the Main Administration for Public Education and the Main Architectural and Planning Administration. All these questions would now seem to be agreed, but the Main Administration for Capital Construction—in the shape of the chief engineer of the technical administration—suddenly stated at the last moment that everything would stay the same and that there was allegedly no documentation and no enterprise to manufacture the necessary metal and wooden structures. The city military commissariat undertook this unusual task and found an enterprise which agreed to manufacture the necessary structures—the Moscow Mechanical Plant of the Main Administration for the Construction of Tunnels and Subways. It already produces combined circuit-training complexes. Additional changes to these complexes have been worked out and passed on to the plant, allowing the complexes to be used for lessons at public and vocational and technical educational establishments. The city sports committee has been given the necessary explanations and background information, it is just a question of submitting applications and paying for the articles. But this "just" has still not taken place. Paperwork is clogging up the works. Life works in its own way, and so does paperwork.

The USSR Law "On Universal Military Duties" and the guidance on training specialists for the USSR Armed Forces at DOSAAF organizations and vocational and technical institutes demand that only working young people be sent for study. After draft deferment for students at agricultural vocational and technical colleges was abolished, the number of draft-age young people working at most ministries fell sharply—one could even say they ceased to exist. However, the order about training specialists for the Army and Navy remained the same. The following way out was found: The Moscow

Gorispolkom adopted a resolution to send agricultural vocational and technical college students in the final years of their courses to DOSAAF night school while they were doing their production practice, that is, directly before being drafted to active military service in their own speciality. It was thought that apart from training specialists this would enhance the standard of young people's military-patriotic education and would give them something useful to do in the evenings. But what actually happened? The Moscow Main Administration for Vocational and Technical Education is hampering this in every possible way. Why? Apparently because nowhere in their departmental paperwork does it state that young students should acquire a military-technical speciality at DOSAAF educational establishments before being drafted to active military service. It is not stated, so that is that.

True, it is hard to go to evening classes at the DOSAAF in addition to lessons at an agricultural vocational and technical college for 6 months. Furthermore, the training program envisages many practical exercises during the day, and this leads to the teaching process at vocational and technical colleges being undermined. What should be done? Life does not stand still. Life presents new demands. A compromise has currently been adopted. The Main Administration for Vocational and Technical Education has agreed to involve agricultural vocational and technical college students in lessons. However, this alone by no means solves the problem. Military commissariat workers suggest two options. The first is to introduce a 1-year draft deferment upon graduation from agricultural vocational and technical colleges for young men who have acquired specialities related to military-technical specialities. This will make it possible to train specialists for the Army and Navy under existing legislation and will promote the retention of worker cadres in production—which currently is not possible, since many agricultural vocational and technical college graduates are drafted into the Army without having worked for a single day in their acquired speciality. The second is to transfer all training of specialists for the Armed Forces to the vocational and technical education system in order to ensure that, on graduating from agricultural vocational and technical college, draftees have both a civilian and a military-technical speciality. The training facilities and teaching staff at DOSAAF organizations are to be placed under the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education and lessons are to be conducted on the principle of public education teaching and production combines. In training agricultural vocational and technical college students who have acquired related military-technical specialities, there could be substantial reductions in the program for training specialists for the Army, eradicating the duplication in lessons that currently exists. That is the opinion of military commissariat workers. There are probably other points of view on the problem. It would be useful to discuss things together and make the necessary decision.

Currently the situation is that, hiding behind the directions issued by their college leaders, draftees are shunning DOSAAF lessons en masse. DOSAAF teachers have also latched on to this trend. They say to their charges: "If you don't want to study, you don't have to come." So we come full circle. There is seemingly no one to blame. A matter of state importance is suffering as a result.

In Moscow there are seven DOSAAF driving schools training drivers for the Army, but only two of them have their own driving circuits. Units now retrain such specialists, because there have been so many road accidents involving military drivers, particularly on busy routes. The Army and Navy are nowadays universally equipped with the Kalashnikov machinegun, but there is not a single firing range in Moscow which accords with the demands of machinegun training exercises. The current 5-year plan does not even envisage the modernization of existing firing ranges. This means that both inexperienced drivers and inexperienced marksmen will be entering the Army and Navy. So how are Muscovites to maintain the capital's status in front of their contemporaries from other cities?

There are currently 1,287 military leaders working at Moscow's educational establishments. They are reserve officers released from active military service. In Moscow the age of those released from active military service is 50-60. What is the result? More than 50% of military leaders are older... than 60. It is their duty to conduct practical exercises in the initial military training program aimed at young soldiers. In the Army this program is mainly carried out by platoon commanders aged 21-24. Even they break into a sweat preparing for these exercises. This means that more than 50% of military instructors in Moscow are physically incapable of being military instructors. Moreover, 8% of military instructors have never served in the Army at all.

There is a way out—military leaders should be trained in teacher training colleges like any other teacher. Back in 1985 the city military commissariat petitioned the USSR Ministry of Education and the RSFSR Council of Ministers to organize the training of teachers of physical education and initial military training at teacher-training colleges and at the Moscow City Physical Fitness Institute. This proposal was ratified by a Moscow Gorispolkom resolution back in 1985. However, that was the end of it. The Moscow City Planning Commission ignored the resolution, as did the Moscow Gorispolkom's Main Administration for Public Education. Something must finally be done rather than people just noting the situation, writing about it, and adopting sundry resolutions which nobody intends to carry out. Strictly speaking, there is not a single defense-sports health camp in Moscow. Even though there ought to be at least three dozen. Many educational establishments have long since given up participating in the "Summer Lightning" and "Egret" military-sports tourneys...

Things are hard in the Army for Muscovites, because their home town does not train them well enough for life under conditions that approximate combat conditions. This is all the more frustrating because the word "Muscovite" has always symbolized the highest qualities of people, including those in military uniform. Muscovites in the Army and Navy were formerly in every respect an example to be emulated for life, they were models of efficiency, discipline, military skill, and valor. They were the capital's ambassadors among young people in the Army and Navy. Today people in the Army want to emulate Muscovites. Today people in the Army should emulate Muscovites. Muscovites in the army today should set an example of honest and professional service to the motherland. Today it is our task to restore all this to Muscovites along with their reputation. The capital is our family. This must be done by everyone, by the whole family. Just as any other city would do for its own draftee sons.

Military Inspectors Return From West Germany

LD312326 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 31 Oct 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The group of Soviet military inspectors who have been in the FRG to inspect military activity being conducted on its territory have finished their work and returned to Moscow on 30 October.

BRIEFS

New All-Weather Helicopter Tested

Moscow October 31 TASS—Operational testing of the new Soviet all-weather helicopter KA-32 for ice reconnaissance and freight haulage has been completed. The helicopter had two gas-turbine engines with a total take-off capacity of 4,450 HP. It can carry five tonnes of payload by suspension. Technical performance of the KA-32 ensures high flight safety and yields great economic efficiency. For instance, two machines during commercial testing (carried on since last December) yielded a profit of 800,000 roubles to an air enterprise. They operated at construction of power transmission lines, brought equipment to offshore drilling platforms, relieved shifts, carried out aerophotography and did patrolling. The KA-32 will be manufactured in two versions: for freight haulage and for ships. Instrumentation fitted on ship helicopters will make it possible to conduct sea reconnaissance within the range of 300 kilometres and approach the landing spot on a moving icebreaker automatically, without the pilot's handling. [Text] *[Moscow TASS in English 1128 GMT 31 Oct 87 LD]*